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THE EVOLUTION OF THE BUDDHA IMAGE

BENJAMIN ROWLAND JR.

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THE EVOLUTION OF THE BUDDHA IMAGE is a catalogue of an exhibition selected by Professor Benjamin Rowland, Jr. and shown in the Galleries of Asia House as an activity of the Asia Society, to further greater understanding and mutual appreciation between the United States and the peoples of Asia.

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Printed in Japan by Book Craft Incorporated/1963
Distributed by Harry N. Abrams, Inc., New York

Received from Mrs. Muriel Rowland, Boston, D.C. 26. 9. 64 for \$ 7.00.

PREFACE

We are fortunate in having obtained the learned services of Professor Benjamin Rowland at the William Hayes Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University in assembling this exhibition. Not only has Professor Rowland written the complete text of this catalogue, which offers us a unique and expert survey of the theme, but he has also selected the illustrations to his text as well as the works of art that permit us to trace the evolution of the Buddha image through a series of original documents. The catalogue, as a book, and the exhibition itself have been designed by Richard Cleveland of the Asia House Gallery.

We wish to express our warmest gratitude to all of the lenders, both American and foreign, who have permitted us to borrow their treasures on this occasion. Some of these lenders have often helped Asia House in this generous fashion and others now respond to our first requests for loans. Among the latter we particularly wish to thank the Oriental Museum in Rome, the Daitokuji and Horyuji Museums.

Without the kind permission of the Japanese Commission for the Protection of Cultural Properties and the ever ready assistance of Mr. Jiro Enjoji, Managing Director of the Nihon Keizai Shimbun (Japan Economic Journal), the special loans from Japan would not have been possible. In this connection we deeply appreciate the help given us in Japan by Mr. John Rosenfield, Rockefeller Research Fellow of Harvard University and Professor Rowland's associate in Tokyo.

INTRODUCTION

As a cult image and an artistic ideal the Buddha image is for the entire Eastern world the equivalent of the representation of Christ, first invented in early Christian times and brought to perfection by the great masters of the medieval period and the Renaissance. This single iconic form, which may be understood to include portrayals of the mortal Buddha, Sakyamuni or Gautama, as well as the divine Buddhas of the Mahayana pantheon, presents a concentrated focal point for the study of the development of a single aesthetic ideal in religious art. The changes that the type underwent over a period of many centuries illustrate throughout this long history the development of religious and national ideals in all the realms of the Orient. In this one invention of religious artists we can see unfold the whole history of Eastern art.

According to a legend reported in many different sources, the very first image of Buddha was a sandalwood statue carved in the Master's lifetime for King Udayana of Kausambi. The story relates that "When Tathagata first arrived at complete Enlightenment, he ascended into Heaven to preach the Law for the benefit of his mother, and for three months remained absent. King Udayana, thinking of him with affection, desired to have an image of his person; therefore, he asked Mudgalyayanaputra by a spiri-

tual power to transport an artist to the heavenly mansions to observe the excellent marks of the Buddha's body and carve a sandalwood statue. When Tathagata returned from the heavenly palace, the carved figure of sandalwood arose and saluted the Lord of the World. The Lord then graciously addressed it and said, 'The work expected from you is to toil in the conversion of unbelievers and to lead in the way of religion future ages.'" One could have no more eloquent statement of the missionary function that was to be performed by the translation of the Buddha image to the entire Asian world. Hsüan-tsang, the famous Chinese pilgrim of the seventh century, referring to the Udayana Buddha, relates that peoples of many regions "worshipped copies of it and they pretend that the likeness is a true original one and this is the original of all such figures." We shall encounter reflections of this famous sandalwood statue in many examples of Chinese and Japanese art. Probably the Udayana legend is a pious fabrication which at some time before Hsüan-tsang's visit was attached to the first images of Buddha carved in Gandhara as early as the first century A.D. The legend of the Udayana statue is embroidered in certain Tibetan texts by the additional information that the Buddha, in order to facilitate the task of the artist who was blinded by the

Tathagata's effulgent brilliance, obligingly cast his reflection upon the surface of a pool. The fact that the likeness was taken from a reflection on water, these accounts say, explains the "rippling" drapery in statues of the so-called Udayana type. It is perhaps not too much to suppose that this part of the story was invented considerably later to explain the ripples of the classical garments of these first icons of Sakyamuni.

It is plain that, the beautiful Udayana myth notwithstanding, the first representations of Sakyamuni in human form were only created centuries after his death when a special need was felt for such anthropomorphic representations of the Teacher. In early Buddhism, which was a way of life or a philosophical system based on the doctrine of the founder, there was no need for representations of the Master. It was believed that the Buddha "who has gone beyond the fetters of the body cannot be endowed by art with the likeness of a body" or, as we may read in the *Digha-nikaya*, "On the dissolution of the body beyond the end of his life neither gods nor men shall know him." The mortal Teacher had passed with his Nirvana into a realm of invisibility, and in early Buddhist art his presence in narratives of his earthly career was symbolized by such emblems as the empty throne for the Enlightenment, the wheel for the First Preaching, and the stupa or relic mound for his Nirvana (*Figure 1*). In the *Kalingabodhi Jataka* the Buddha states that he can be properly shown as a bodhi tree.

With the passing of the centuries Buddhism was transformed from a rather limited and selfish religious system, in which the way to salvation was open only to those who could renounce the world for a monastic existence, to

a religion offering the promise of salvation to all men who followed the eight-fold path. Gradually the demand arose for the reassurances and comfort of devotion to the person and founder himself rather than his doctrine. The cult of relics fostered by the Emperor Asoka in the third century B.C. is an early indication of this growing worship of the Buddha himself. *Puja* or prayer to Sakyamuni himself replaces *yajna* or the contemplation and practice of his message. This process of change was abetted by the growth of the *bhakti* cult, which means essentially the passionate love of the devotee (*bhakta*) for a particular divinity. This was a development from a system of thought to a popular religion. Salvation became possible through the devotion of the worshipper to his god as a reaction against the tedious intellectualism of the *Upanishads* or the hard road to salvation offered by the early Buddhist creed. The development was affected, too, by the cult of the Hindu god Krishna who said, "None who is devoted to me is lost." *Bhakti*, "the less troublesome way," addresses itself to the manifestation of the deity that is most accessible and most at hand. *Bhakti* implies the deification of the Buddha, just as this attachment to a personal god implies the deification of the Buddha, and idolatry. It is also probable that the steps leading to the first Buddha image included the influence of the anthropomorphic tradition of the Hellenic world which since the conquest of Alexander had been in close contact with India.

The worship of divinities in anthropomorphic form had existed in the cult of nature spirits as early as the Indus Valley period. Such divinities as *yakshis* and a proto-Siva are commonly found on the Indus Valley seals. In the Maurya period the *yakshis* are portrayed as superhuman titans,

FIG. 2. COIN OF KANISHKA.
MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON.



FIG. 1. RELIC MOUND SYMBOLIZING THE NIRVANA.
FREER GALLERY OF ART.



and the representation of these and other old Dravidian spirits such as the *nagas* is common in some of the great monuments of the early Classic period, in which the Buddha is portrayed only in aniconic form.

In the beginning, at least, the religious image in India was only a substitute for the prototype. Its function may be explained by the words of the Hermeneia of Athos regarding Christian icons: "All honor that we pay the image we refer to the archetype; namely, him whose image it is. And in no wise honor we the color or the art, but the archetype in Christ who is in Heaven." As in the history of all religions it was only later that a fetishistic worship came to be paid to the icons rather than their prototypes.

The anthropomorphic representation of the Buddha almost certainly went hand in hand with a change in the religion from the Hinayana to the Mahayana doctrine. In such sutras as the *Mahavastu* and the *Saddharma Pundarika*, which must date from the Kushan period of the first and second centuries A.D., the Buddha is already described as a superhuman personage, no longer a mortal teacher, but a god timeless and eternal as Brahma himself.

In Hinayana Buddhism, salvation was possible through the extinction of attachment to the self by practicing the discipline and meditation prescribed by Sakyamuni. The representations of Sakyamuni in Hinayana Buddhism were not necessarily portrayals of Gautama as a divinity but reminders of the Master's earthly teaching exemplified in his image. At the same time, they offered the possibility of devotion to his person. Certainly it was hoped that, somehow, from beyond the gates of Nirvana, the departed teacher might answer prayers and bestow boons as Lord Krishna rewarded his devotees. Such na-

attitude of devotion to Sakyamuni inevitably led to his conception as a god, stemming as it did from the ancient Indian attachment to personal divinities.

In Mahayana Buddhism, Sakyamuni the mortal teacher is regarded as the earthly expression or appearance of a mighty spiritual being. One of the fundamental tenets of the Great Vehicle is the concept of the Three Bodies or *Trikaya*: the *Dharmakaya* is the Buddhist *logos*, an invisible force permeating the universe as the spiritual essence of the ultimate and absolute Buddha; the *Sambhogakaya* or Body of Bliss is that transfigured Body of Splendor which the eternal Buddha reveals only to the Bodhisattvas; and the *Nirmanakaya* is the noumenal earthly shape in which the cosmic Buddha revealed himself as an illusion for the benefit of mortals. It is obviously impossible to distinguish Hinayana from Mahayana images except by context or special attributes. We must remember, too, that, in the iconography of the Great Vehicle, the cosmic Buddha Vairocana and his regents, the Dhyani Buddhas, governing the four points of the compass, assume the attitudes and *mudras* of particular actions in the life of the mortal Buddha symbolized by these same poses and gestures.

The typical Buddha image, beginning with the very earliest representations in Gandhara and Mathura, shows the master wearing the monastic garment or *sanghati*, sometimes covering both shoulders or with the right shoulder bare. As will be seen in specific examples later, the head and body and limbs are characterized by various *lakshanas* or magic marks that distinguished the anatomy of a Buddha from that of ordinary mortals. In both standing and seated images the position of the hands or *mudra* indi-

cates a certain power or function of the Buddha or the gesture may be associated with a particular event in his life. The most common of these gestures is the *abhaya mudra*, a gesture of reassurance or blessing, not connected with any specific event in the Buddha's life, in which the right hand is raised, palm outward. Other familiar *mudras* are the *Dhyani mudra* or gesture of meditation with the hands folded in the lap and the *bhumisparsa mudra* with the right hand of the seated Buddha reaching down to touch the earth. Both of these are associated with the Great Enlightenment and later are adopted for images of the Dhyani Buddhas Amitabha and Akshobhya. There are essentially only two types of Buddha image: the standing figure or the seated Buddha. In the latter the legs are folded as an invariable convention in the yoga posture, even though the position of the hands may not have anything to do with the act of meditation.

The representation of certain individual *lakshanas* is extremely interesting for the changes in form and iconography in different chapters in the evolution of the Buddha image. One of the more distinctive of these marks is the *ushnisha*, the lump at the summit of the Buddha's head which, as a kind of auxiliary brain according to the texts, accommodated that cosmic consciousness or supreme wisdom which Sakyamuni attained at his Enlightenment. In Gandhara sculpture this feature, perhaps because it was incomprehensible or distasteful to artists trained in the Graeco-Roman tradition, was disguised by wavy locks or by a topknot like that worn by Apollo in Hellenic sculpture. In the purely Indian schools, the *ushnisha* is frankly portrayed as a cranial protuberance usually with snail-shell curls. An ultimate development in late Thai sculpture places a flame-

shaped finial at the top of the Buddha's head, perhaps as a symbol of the divine radiance emanating from this magic center.

The halo or nimbus which comes to be an inevitable attribute for all Buddhist divinities probably derives from the ancient Iranian convention of symbolizing the celestial light of Ahura Mazda by a disc or sun, sometimes, as in the reliefs of Persepolis, placed behind anthropomorphic representations of the Mazdaean personification of light. From this source the disc or halo found its way into early Christian and Buddhist art as a means of signifying the divine radiance or *tejas* emanating from the person of Christ and Buddha.

It is generally believed that the earliest images of the Buddha were made in the ancient province of Gandhara toward the close of the first century A.D. This region, comprising the present northwest Pakistan and Afghanistan, was then under the rule of Kushan Scythian kings, a race of eastern Central Asian origin, who were in close commercial and diplomatic contact with the West. The craftsmen who served the Kushan religious establishments were in the beginning Roman journeymen craftsmen from such eastern Mediterranean sites as Alexandria and Antioch. Among the first portrayals of Buddha in human form is a likeness on a gold coin of the Emperor Kanishka, inscribed in provincial Greek, BODDO (Figure 2). Kanishka is known as one of the great patrons of Buddhism who is remembered for convening the second great Buddhist council. His reign is believed to have begun in 78 or 128 A.D. The presence of this likeness of the Buddha on the money of Kanishka would seem to connote the previous existence of statues of similar type.

The earliest Gandhara Buddhas were a com-

bination of various elements drawn from the pagan repertory of the foreign craftsmen who were called upon to invent an icon of the Buddha. The head is an adaptation of the radiant youthful face of such a classical prototype as the Apollo Belvedere, and the mantle with its voluminous folds is a Roman toga or pallium. It has been suggested that the choice of the Apollo type as a model for the features of Buddha had a certain iconographical appropriateness to signify that the Buddha, too, was a personification of ineffable light. In the same way the pallium could be thought of as a suitable garment for the Buddha, since it had been associated with the great teachers and the priests who welcomed the soul for the other world in the mystery cults in the pagan West. The style of the earliest Gandhara Buddhas approximates late Hellenistic or Roman Imperial art of the early centuries of the Christian era. As Indian carvers took over the work of the first generation of Roman sculptors, the Gandhara Buddhas gradually underwent a process of Indianization. The images become more rigidly frontal, and the drapery, as in the Roman provincial art of Palmyra, is reduced to a schematic pattern of stringlike loops appliquéd to the surface of the body; at the same time the face assumes the more hieratic mask-like character of Asian art. It was this latest type of Gandhara Buddha which provided the model for countless repetitions of the style in Central Asia and the Far East.

Just as the relief sculpture of Gandhara is devoted entirely to subjects either from the *Jatakas* or scenes from the life of the mortal Buddha, it appears that practically all of the Buddha images of this school are representations of Sakyamuni. During the first few cen-

turies of its existence, the region of Gandhara and the art it produced seem to have been dedicated to the expression of the ideals of Hinayana Buddhism. Only rarely does it seem possible to recognize portrayals of the mythical Buddhas of the Mahayana pantheon. One certain indication of the gradual predominance of the Great Vehicle is the appearance of the colossal image. The most notable examples of the Mahayana concept of the Buddha as a transcendent personage, the equivalent of the ancient Mahapurusa or cosmic man, are the colossal images of the Bamiyan Valley in Afghanistan. The smaller 125-foot Buddha is an enlargement of a relatively early Gandhara type, and the 175-foot Buddha (*Figure 3*) with its drapery actually affixed to the body on a net of strings covered with clay is a magnification of the final Indianized type of Buddha image. These statues, which were the wonder of the Chinese pilgrims who visited the holy land of Buddhism from the fourth century onward, provided the models for the giant statues of the divinized Buddha in China and Japan.

Probably at the same moment that the entirely foreign type of Buddhist icon was created in Gandhara, the workshops at Mathura, the southern capital of the Kushans, produced an Indian Buddha image. These statues, of which the one dedicated by Friar Bala at Sarnath is the most famous, are usually over-life-size figures, recalling the massive proportions of the *yakshi* statues of the Maurya and Sunga Periods. From these prototypes they derived the typical Indian feeling for expansive volume and the connotation of the softness and warmth of the flesh by the swelling roundness of simple interlocking surfaces. For reasons that are not entirely clear, these Kushan statues usually represent Sakya-

FIG. 3. COLOSSAL BUDDHA.
BAMIYAN, AFGHANISTAN.



muni as a Bodhisattva; that is, wearing not the monastic mantle but a skirt or *dhoti*, and nude from the waist up save for the robe over the left shoulder. In contrast to the cold expressionless masks of the Gandhara statues, the faces of the Mathura Buddhas are shown with open eyes and softly smiling lips, so that they have a kind of radiance and friendly warmth that welcome the devotee's adoration. Just as the Gandhara sculpture relied on classical prototypes, the Mathura carvers created their version of the Buddha image on the foundation of types and techniques of the early Indian tradition. These images were certainly made in accordance with a fixed system of proportions and with scrupulous attention to representing the magic marks or *lakshanas* that distinguished the body of a Buddha from ordinary mortals. Following the technique of the ancient Indian schools, the drapery is indicated only by incised lines with a conceptual emphasis on the seams and borders of the garment. There were occasional imitations of the Gandhara type in Muttra, but these travesties of the provincial Roman style are vastly outnumbered by the cult images of completely Indian type. The Kushan Buddhas of Mathura still retain something of the direct statement and power expressed by the sheer bulk and scale of the Maurya and Sunga statues. Such characteristics of these images as the enormous breadth of shoulders and tiny waists indicate the emergence of a formula for portraying the anatomy of a superman that was to develop into a sophisticated language of expression in the Gupta period.

A modification of the Kushan Buddha type was adopted in the Andhra kingdom of Amaravati and Nagarjunakunda in the early centuries of our era. These images, which are

carved from a beautiful greenish-white limestone, are characterized by a rather stiff hieratic quality; the bodies have something of the fullness of the Mathura type, while the drapery, usually represented in a series of lines or ridges, appears to be a conventionalization of the Gandhara formula. The plastic austerity and sophistication of these images already anticipate the idea of the Gupta period. Close contacts between the Andhra Empire and Ceylon led to the introduction of this style to Anuradhapura, perhaps as early as the fourth or fifth century A.D. Images of the Amaravati type, both in stone and in bronze, have been found in Indo-China, Borneo, and the Celebes, indicating the enormous influence of the Buddhist civilization of South India.

The Gupta period, often described as the Golden Age of Indian art, is not so much a Renaissance in the European sense of the term as it is a culmination and refinement of many earlier forms and techniques of Indian art. The cultivated beauty of expression in poetry, drama, and the dance has its parallel in the plastic arts. It is quite possible to say without reservation that the Buddha images of the Gupta period represent the final step in the evolution of the Indian ideal of the cult image.

It is generally believed that by the fourth or fifth century the canons of Indian art were already formulated in such works as the *Kama sutra* and the *Vishnudharmottaram*. These *sastras* established the norms for aesthetic practices in much the same way as the manuals of the Byzantine tradition perpetuated the rules for artistic procedures. Proportions, measurements, postures, gestures, moods, and expressions for different types of images in painting and sculpture are all defined. These same princi-

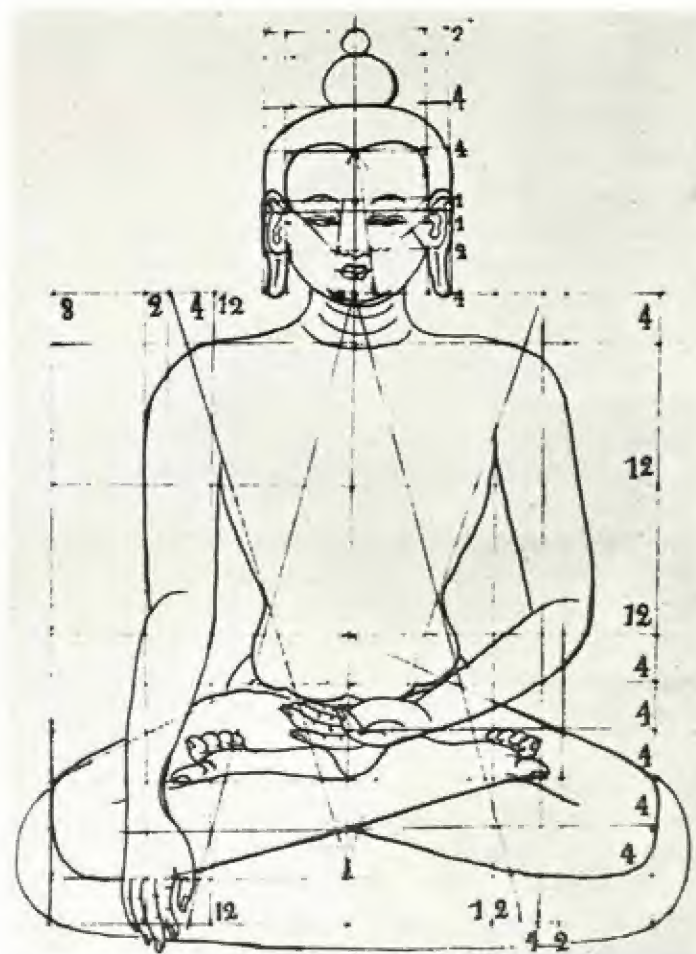


FIG. 4. CANON OF PROPORTIONS FOR
FIGURE OF THE BUDDHA. TIBETAN.

ples of artistic procedure continued to shape the destiny of art in India long after the extinction of Buddhism in the thirteenth century.

Certain fixed canons for the making of sacred images made their appearance in India at an early period. The purpose of the canons fixed by iconometry was to produce likenesses of the gods valid and correct for worship, and any deviation from the formula would result in an icon unfit for devotion. Such proportions were intended to produce a nature transcending humanity and its ephemeral, imperfect beauty. The basic unit of measurement was the angula or finger, sometimes taken from the breadth of the donor's finger to render his identification

with the icon more complete. Approximately twelve angulas constituted a thalem or palm and this unit was repeated nine times for the height of the standing figure and five times for the seated figures (*Figure 4*). This mathematical system of proportion, with no reference to the anatomy of human beings, was an entirely arbitrary one designed to produce a supernatural rather than a human proportion. This mathematical system of measurement was based in part, too, on the magical properties of certain numbers. Its use is comparable to the invention of a super-human anatomy, constructed on the basis of an abstract modulus, for the gods of Egypt and Greece of the archaic period. The

angulas determined the proportion of every section of the image, and the face was generally divided into three equal parts of four angulas each: from hairline to eyes, eyes to base of nose, and nose to the tip of the chin.

During the Gupta period the principal schools or workshops for Buddhist sculpture were Mathura and Sarnath, and the types established at these centers continued to influence the making of cult images into the Period of the Hindu Dynasties.

In style the statues of the fourth and fifth centuries from Mathura, like the superb example lent by the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, are a combination of elements assimilated from the Kushan and Gandhara Buddha types. The standing image has the massive and heavy proportions of the Kushan Buddha; the drapery has been reduced to a schematic convention of quilted ridges falling in repeated loops down the median line of the body, so that the form appears nude as seen through a network of cords. The bodies of these Buddhas retain the same feeling of expansive volume through the construction in simplified rounded planes that at the same time connote in abstract fashion the warmth and fullness of the fleshly envelope. The head of a typical Gupta Buddha from Mathura is conceived as a spheroidal mask with its smooth interlocking planes even more suggestive of a pure geometric volume than its Kushan prototypes. This fullness communicates a feeling of warmth and aliveness to the facial mask. The features of these Gupta icons are unmistakably represented according to a metaphorical method, whereby the individual parts of the face are not imitated from counterparts in any human model but from certain shapes in the world of nature, regarded

as more beautiful and final than anything to be found in the accidental and never perfect beauty of a mortal face. Accordingly the countenance has the perfect oval of the egg; the eyes are shaped like lotus buds or lotus petals; the lips have the fullness of the mango, and the brows the curve of Krishna's bow. In the heads of the Gupta images the hair is invariably represented in the form of snail-shell curls covering the head like a cap. This convention of tightly wound spirals for the short locks exactly follows the textual description of the appearance of the Buddha's hair after he had cut off his princely ringlets at the time of the Great Renunciation. In a similar way the *lakshanas* likening the Buddha's Herculean shoulders to the head of an elephant and his torso to the tapered body of a lion are literally followed in the carving or painting of a supernatural rather than a human anatomy.

Among the great masterpieces of Gupta sculpture are the Buddha images of Sarnath, the sacred site near Benares that witnessed the Buddha's First Preaching. These statues are fashioned of the same chunar sandstone that more than five centuries earlier had been used for the Asokan pillars. The Sarnath Buddha type differs specifically from the Mathura ideal, in that all traces of drapery folds have disappeared, so that the body appears swathed in a sheath-like garment that completely reveals its immaculate perfection. The standing images are generally carved with the body bent in a Praxitelean S-curve, a posture certainly derived from the repertory of the Indian dance, which serves to confer an extraordinary vitality and grace to the form. In the Sarnath Buddhas the bodies become a kind of geometric abstraction of combined spheroidal and cylindrical shapes,

and the very purity of these textureless smooth surfaces communicates the idea of the transfigured and immortal nature of the body of the Tathagata. The heads of the Sarnath Buddhas have a soft, lyric beauty based on a similar geometric purity of form. Occasional inscriptions like that on a Buddha dedicated by Amitabhyamitra in 474 A.D. seem to indicate an aesthetic concern for the beauty of religious icons: "Image of images, unparalleled for its merits... adorned with wonderful art."

A rare example of metal sculpture of the Gupta period is the small bronze Buddha from Dhanesar Khera lent by the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art. It is a miniature version of some of the great masterpieces in stone in which the head recalls the fourth and fifth century Buddhas of Mathura and the robe is a combination of the transparent robe of the Sarnath school with reminiscences of the naturalistic treatment of drapery in Gandhara. Small images of this type, often repeating traditional types, were made at centers like Nalanda as late as the eighth and ninth century; their export provided a means of spreading Indian styles of Buddhist sculpture to every region of the Indian world.

The only parallels in painting for the canons of beauty observed in Gupta sculpture are the surviving images in the wall paintings of Ajanta. Examples dating from the fifth to the seventh century in Caves 1 and 9 seem to indicate the same formula observed at Sarnath, with the Buddha represented in the most simplified shapes, which in these pictorial counterparts are made to appear in relief by a slight reinforcing of the wiry contour lines with arbitrary shading.

Like the immortal influence of the forms and types of the Greek gods in Western art the ideal

Buddha image developed in Gupta India became, as it were, the everlasting canon for Buddhist icons throughout the Indian world and for the entire later development of religious art in the Far East.

Even as early as the times of Asoka and Kanishka the Vale of Kashmir was intimately connected with India. Kashmir was a pocket of culture that, in its mountainous isolation, perpetuated the ideals of Gandhara and Gupta art long after the eclipse of these schools in India proper. The great era of Buddhism and artistic expression came under the reign of King Lalitaditya in the eighth century. To this period belongs the dedication of the monastic establishment at Ushkur. The ruins of this convent have yielded numerous examples of stucco and terra-cotta sculpture. Buddha heads like the magnificent example lent by Mr. George Bickford are reminiscent of the type developed in the Gandhara centers of Taxila and Hadda as well as of the seventh century Afghan site of Fondukistan (*Figure 5*). The free, impressionistic treatment of the hair reminds us of the technique of Gandhara stucco sculpture while the arching brows and lotiform eyes suggest the fully developed Gupta formula. The feeling for roundness and warmth in the modeling of the facial mask and the softly expressive lips suggest some of the Indian masterpieces of the fourth and fifth centuries.

The final development of Buddhist art in India took place under the Pala and Sena dynasties in the Bengal Valley. The great centers of Buddhism from the seventh century onward were at Bodh Gaya and Nalanda, where, according to the testimony of the Chinese pilgrim, Hsüan-tsang, the Mahayana faith was at its zenith. This final phase of Indian Buddhism



FIG. 5. BUDDHA FROM FONDUKISTAN.
KABUL MUSEUM, AFGHANISTAN.

was dominated by the Vajrayana doctrine, the ancestor of Japanese Shingon, in which reliance on spells, ritual, and magic diagrams marked the gradual absorption of the religion into Hinduism. Some of the more occult concepts of Vajrayana, such as the bejeweled Buddha as an emblem of the resplendent body which he reveals only to the Bodhisattvas, replaced the simple cult images of earlier times. In the case of many of the statues carved in the hard, black stone of Magadha, it is impossible to tell whether the icon represents the mortal Teacher or one of the mystic Buddhas who had assumed the *mudras* of Sakyamuni's mortal career. Akshobhya, the Lord of the East, is shown in the

bhumisparsa mudra of the Enlightenment, and Vairocana, the cosmic Buddha, assumes the *dharmacakra mudra* of the First Preaching. From the point of view of style, the Buddha images from the eighth to the thirteenth century reveal a faithful imitation of Gupta prototypes. The carving is often dry and mechanical in execution. There is an elaboration of accessories, and a hard precision of carving seems to take precedence over the formal sculptural qualities of the work. The stone and bronze images of Nalanda, which must have been exported in quantities, furnished the models for later Buddhist art in Tibet and Nepal and the regions of South east Asia. Of exceptional beauty are the

seventh and eighth century bronze statuettes from Bihar which perpetuate Gupta types in miniature.

According to tradition, Buddhism was introduced to Nepal by the Emperor Asoka, but the great period of Buddhism and Buddhist art begins in the eighth and ninth centuries with contacts with the Pala culture of Bengal and the introduction of Vajrayana Buddhism. The iconography and forms of Pala art were literally transplanted to this Himalayan kingdom, probably in the beginning through the participation of imported artists, and these forms have been perpetuated with little change for more than a thousand years. Although the Nepalese paintings and sculptures of the Buddha image repeat the old types of the Bengal Valley, they are invariably informed with a feeling for sinuous linear rhythms and an exquisite precision of craftsmanship that give them an unmistakable national character.

Before the appearance of Buddhism, the religion of Tibet — Bonpo — was an animistic cult including many elements of sorcery and sexual mysticism. The entire culture of Tibet has been determined by the civilizing influence of Buddhism, probably first introduced through alliances with Nepal and China in the seventh century and firmly established by the holy man Padmasambhava in the eighth. As in Nepal, the form of the religion adopted by the Tibetans was the so-called Third Vehicle or Vajrayana. In the art of such a religious system the simpler forms of Buddha images are vastly outnumbered by the great host of deities, many of Hindu origin, that crowd its teeming pantheon. So great was the feeling of reverence and indebtedness to Indian Buddhism for its raising Tibet to a higher level of civilization that every effort was made to retain as close an approximation

as possible to the types and techniques originally borrowed. This reverence for canonical types was so firmly rooted that the types and techniques of surviving paintings of the tenth century can scarcely be distinguished from replicas of the same iconography painted in the eighteenth century. In the course of centuries Tibetan art was influenced by the Buddhist culture of Khotan in Central Asia and repeatedly by Chinese art, especially following the conquest of the country by K'ang hsi in the eighteenth century.

Although wall paintings exist in the monastic centers of both Nepal and Tibet, our knowledge of painting in these Himalayan regions is limited largely to the great numbers of surviving *tankas* or religious banners. Undoubtedly based on earlier Indian temple icons, the painting of *tankas* in Nepal and Tibet was rigidly codified by iconographical and technical manuals of Indian origin. The function of these icons in Vajrayana was essentially magical, just as their painting itself was a liturgical rite performed by the artist after yogic meditation on the divinities he was to portray. The banners were magic symbols to defend the devotee from the snares and hazards of the world of nature, to facilitate for the beholder escape from the world of existence to immaculate celestial spheres evoked in the pictures. The concept of religious icons as emblems of terrible power that could overcome karma to transport the worshipper to the paradise of his choice is identical with the regard for icons in the art of Shingon Buddhism of Japan.

The actual types of Buddhas, as well as the style of painting them, in Nepalese and Tibetan *tankas* are a faithful perpetuation of the style of the Pala period, although certain types, like the

Paradise iconography, were probably derived from Central Asia. In the Tibetan paintings of the eighteenth century something of the preciousness of Chinese art of the Ch'ing period reveals itself in the intricate and exquisite precision of ornament.

Among the earliest indications of the penetration of the Gupta style into Further India are the Buddhist statues of Thailand and Cambodia in the sixth and seventh centuries. These icons, generally referred to as the pre-Khmer period, were the accompaniment of Indian missionary activity in these regions. The beautiful statues of the Dvaravati period in stone and bronze follow the ideal of the Sarnath school, including the transparent sheath-like garment and the dehanchement of the body. They display certain native traits at the same time. The snail-shell curls are enormously enlarged, and the features have a peculiarly beautiful decorative quality. The metaphorical character of the individual features is exaggerated, so that the eyes are even more like actual lotus petals in shape and the mouth has the fullness of an exquisite floral shape. The lotiform shape of the eyes is echoed in the curve of the full lips. The body and head alike have the simplicity and sculptural solidity of Gupta images, and the whole icon is imbued with a feeling of tense aliveness that makes it a veritable emblem of serenity and religious ecstasy.

The final evolution of the Cambodian ideal of the Buddha image took place during the classic centuries that witnessed the rise of the capital and the famous towered temples of Angkor. In the heads of Buddha images of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the ultimate indebtedness to the Gupta canon is still apparent in the essentially massive, spheroidal conception of

the head. What may be regarded as a peculiarly Khmer formula or even a cliché for indicating the self-contained bliss and serenity of the Enlightened One appears in countless examples in the eyes closed in revery and the lips distended into a long mysterious smile. Many of the Khmer heads of this classic period have a positive suggestion of personality or individuality within the mould of iconographical and formal convention. This is perhaps to be explained by the fact that these icons were at the same time idealized portraits of the reigning monarch in the guise of a *devaraja* or god-king. Whether the state religion was Hinduism or Buddhism the conception of the ruler as the earthly embodiment of the presiding deity of the realm had for centuries been an established tenet of belief in Cambodia. Generally the chief cult image of the empire showing the sovereign in the likeness of Vishnu or Buddha was enshrined in a temple mountain, an architectural symbol of the sacred Mount Meru of Indian cosmology, at the magic center of the empire. In Khmer sculpture the prevalence of the iconography of the Buddha seated on the coils of a giant serpent and sheltered by its cobra hood is not entirely a portrayal of the obscure legend of Sakyamuni's encounter with a *naga* after his enlightenment. It is a reference to the legend that the *nagas* or serpent deities were the divine progenitors and protectors of the Cambodian throne.

In general, the heads of Buddhas of the later centuries of Khmer sculpture tend to assume a more hard linear character in the incised definition of the features. Invariably the mass of the hair is separated from the face, sometimes by a broad band, as though it were a cap literally pulled over the skull. In certain examples of the period of the Bayon in the thirteenth century,

the individual features do not stand out as separate parts attached to the block of the head, but melt into this mass, so that to some degree there is a return to the strong plastic conception of the earliest period. The best of these late Buddha masks have a soft, dreamy expression, a wonderful suggestion of a being rapt in inner contemplation. Although verging on the sentimental, these final Khmer masks are the perfect symbols of the self-contained beatitude and reassuring benevolence inherent in Buddhism as a religion dedicated to the salvation of humanity.

The indigenous tradition of monumental art in Cambodia came to an end with the final Siamese conquest of Angkor in the fifteenth century. All later developments take place in Thailand where the earlier styles continue to be repeated with innumerable local variations until modern times. The ramifications of this stylistic evolution of these later centuries are far too complex to follow here. The best of the Thai Buddhas through the sixteenth century still retain the plastic integrity of the classic style in Cambodia. The development is toward a more and more decoratively stylized concept of the Buddha image culminating in the elegant attenuated formula achieved at Ayudhya. Familiar aspects of this style are the flame finial that seems to carry upward the towering attenuation of the slim image, the svelte unmodeled smoothness of torso and tubular limbs, the pliant curves of elongated fingers, and the masks in which the features are a decorative repetition of arcs and curves. In its reduction of earlier monumental forms, often very moving in their plastic grandeur, to a mannered exquisite stereotype, this ultimate Siamese style in which only grace prevails is the eastern counterpart of the neoclassic.

The last outpost of Buddhism in the Indian world was the island of Java, where the Sailendra, "King of the Mountain and the lord of the Isles," was the ruler of a great Indonesian empire in the eighth and ninth centuries. Javanese Buddhism was dependent on the Indian center at Nalanda. Many bronze images from Bengal have been found in the island and the prevailing type of Buddhism was an offshoot of the esoteric doctrine of the Pala period.

The great monument of Javanese Buddhism, one of the wonders of the Asian world, is the stupa of Borobudur. This temple was dedicated to Vairocana, the historical Buddha idealized in the *Dharmakaya*, the eternal body of the Law. The whole structure with its hundreds of reliefs and statues was conceived as a vast *mandala* that reveals all phases of existence at all times and in all places as so many material manifestations of the divine and universal essence of Vairocana. Like the painted *mandalas* of Tibet and Japan, Borobudur is a magic replica of the Material and Spiritual worlds, with each of its floors or storeys representing a separate world or plane of life. The secrets of Borobudur are linked with the identity and function of the Dhyani Buddha images that cover the monument from top to bottom. In deep grotto-like niches on the four sides are installed the mystic Buddhas of the four directions and, on the upper terraces, seventy-two images of Vairocana (Figure 6). These statues of the cosmic lord are half hidden under latticed bell-shaped stupas as though to emphasize by their partial concealment the mysterious, never completely revealed nature of the ultimate reality in a world without form, which is the realm of the *Dharmakaya*. Presumably the image placed in the closed terminal stupa was another final form of

Vairocana enthroned at the center of the cosmic wheel, at the very pole of the world, as the supreme manifestation of Vairocana and, as in Cambodia, as the essence and apotheosis of divine kingship.

The style of the Buddha images of Borobudur, as may be seen even in single detached heads, is derived directly from the Gupta style of Sarnath. These Buddhas are made with great mathematical nicety of measurement from one of the systems of proportion for sacred images followed throughout the Indian world. The finest of them represent such a beautiful realization of plastic mass and volume, such breathing life and transcendent spiritual clarity of expression that they may rank among the greatest examples of sculptural genius in the entire world. In these images there is scarcely any longer the suggestion of real flesh, but rather these statues seem to be made of an imperishable and pure spiritual substance that marvelously symbolizes in stone the incorruptible and radiant and adamant nature of the Diamond, the Buddha's eternal body.

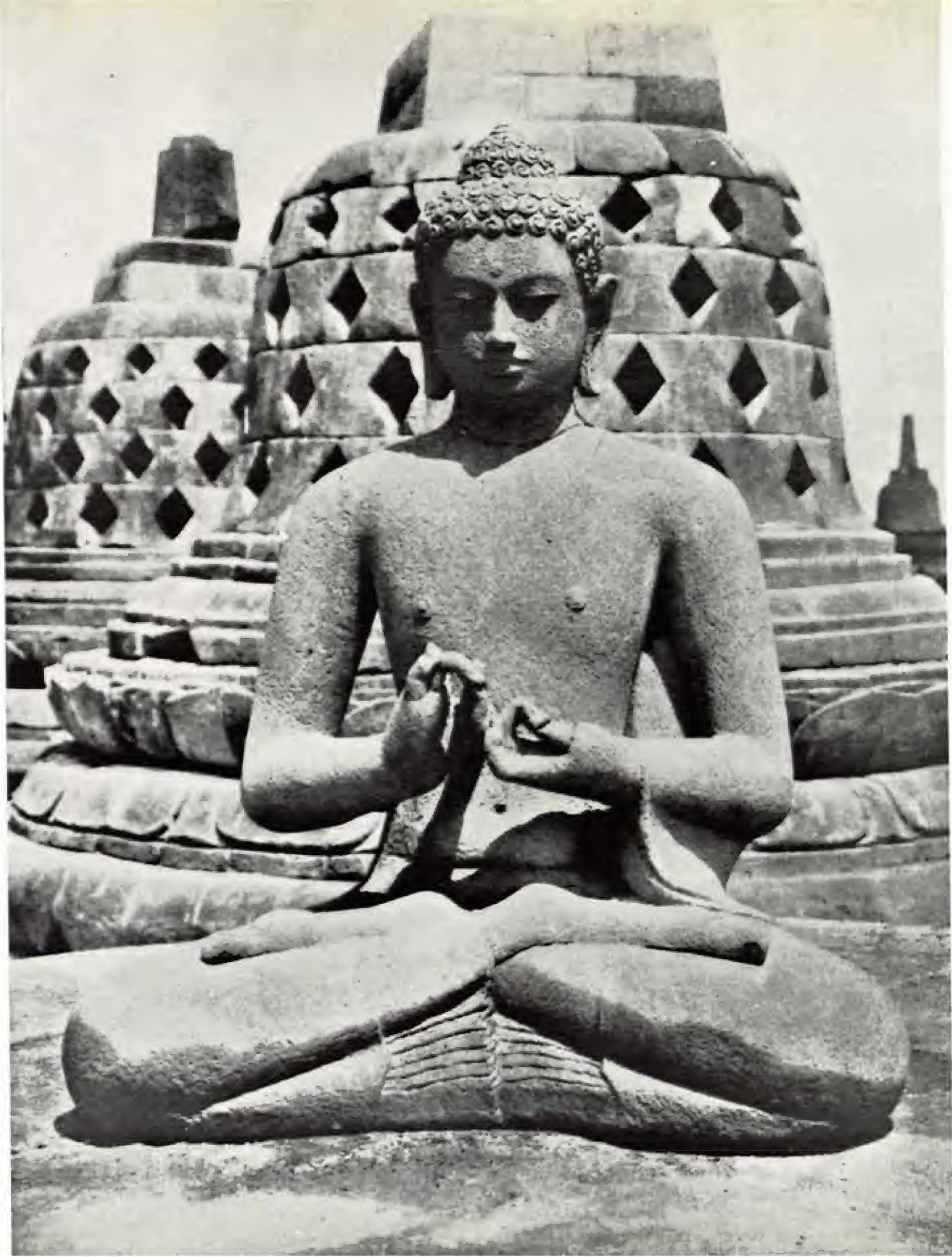
The extension of Buddhism and its art to Central Asia or Turkestan certainly began as early as the Kushan period when the western parts of the region were under Kushan suzerainty. The stucco sculpture of the early sites like Khotan and Miran is therefore a provincial extension of the Gandhara style eastward along the trade route to China. Fragments of Buddha images from these monastic centers and from Tumschuq are misunderstood and conventionalized imitations of the originally Graeco-Roman types of Buddha statues of Hadda and Taxila.

It was certainly on these and later repetitions of this manner at Kizil that the earliest Buddhist

images of China were based. According to record, missionaries bearing sutras found their way to the Han court as early as 2 B.C. The famous legend of the Emperor Ming and his dream of a golden image leading to the import of a copy of the famous Udayana statue in 66 A.D. is probably to be interpreted as a symbol of the introduction of replicas of famous Indian icons to the Far East. Certainly Buddhism was no more than a sporadic fad in court circles during the Han period, although it may be possible to identify crude representations of the Buddha in the Chiating caves in Szechwan.

The florescence of Buddhism in China begins in the Six Dynasties period following the invasion of northern China by the Topa Tartars in 386 A.D. It has been assumed that these barbarians already had some acquaintance with Buddhism in their original homeland near Lake Baikal. It appears evident that the foreign religion may have served a political purpose for these rulers as a unifying force in opposition to the native religious systems of Confucianism and Taoism, just as the Kushans in India espoused the doctrine of Sakyamuni as an instrument of imperialism. Although a few bronze images like the famous gilt bronze from the Brundage Collection dated 338 antedate the founding of the Wei Dynasty by the Topa rulers, the first official patronage of the religion is recorded with the carving of the rock-cut temples of Yün Kang under imperial patronage.

Yün Kang is located some thirty miles from the Tartar capital of Ta-t'ung-fu in the shadow of the Great Wall. The vast undertaking of hewing out more than twenty grotto temples was begun, as the *Wei Shu* relates, under the auspices of the priest Tan yao in 450 and continued until 494. The concept of carving an





entire monastic establishment from the living rock had been anticipated in the Thousand Buddha Caves in Tun-huang, which, according to tradition, were consecrated in 366. Indian prototypes exist for these complexes such as the Buddhist *chaityas* of the Western *ghats* and the famous cave sanctuaries of Bamiyan. There is a probable connection between Yün Kang and the Tun-huang caves since the *Wei Shu* informs us that in 435, 35,000 families from Liang, the present Kansu, were settled at Ta-t'ung. Of further interest is the mention that the people of Liang took their models for building and statuary from "the Western Countries," a collec-

FIG. 7. COLOSSAL BUDDHAS.
YÜN KANG, CHINA.

tive term by which the Chinese described the kingdoms of Central Asia and India as well. The first dedications at Yün Kang comprised five colossal Buddhas in memory of the first rulers of the house of Wei. Such a memorial to ancestors suggests the infiltration of Confucian concepts into Buddhism. It reminds us that Buddhism only came to China relatively late in the development of the civilization and throughout its entire history was hardly more than a ripple on the face of the sea of indigenous tradition. Although the inspiration for the colossal images at Yün Kang, some of them seventy feet in height, might have but probably did not come from the famous giants at Bamiyan, the style of this sculpture clearly reveals a Central Asian origin (*Figure 7*). It may well be that the sculptors employed at this site were drawn from the Central Asian colony moved from Tun-huang to the capital in 435. The Buddha images of every dimension at Yün Kang clearly show a translation into stone of the expressionless round faces of the stucco images of Kizil and Tumschuq. Similarly the drapery reduced to a network of tape-like bands breaking into forked folds is a further conventionalization of a mannerism found at these sites. Interesting from the iconographical point of view is the fact that the colossi of the western caves at Yün Kang were intended to portray the concept of the cosmic Buddha as described in such sutras as the *Saddharma Pundarika* and the *Avatamsaka*.

The famous bronze Buddha Maitreya dated 477 or 486, lent by the Metropolitan Museum of Art is an illustration of the style of Yün Kang colossi in a smaller replica. The mantle with its folds indicated by ribbon-like forms applied to

the surface is characteristic of the Central Asian formula but the beautiful rhythm of the robe, spread out like wings unfurled, and the block-like abstraction of the head with its wedge nose, almond eyes, and archaic smile already suggest the evolution of the Chinese ideal of the Six Dynasties period.

Toward the close of the period of activity at Yün Kang, a much more Chinese conception of the Buddha image begins to make its appearance. The faces become more cubic with sharp breaks between the planes of the face, and the completely linear treatment of the drapery tends to reduce all feeling of the plastic existence of the body to a flat silhouette. Details of the costume, such as the trailing scarves passing through a jade ring, the cusped necklaces, and the serrated swallow-tail contour of the flaring skirts replace the Central Asian dress, especially in the images of the Buddha of the Future, Maitreya.

These tendencies become intensified in the carving of the cave temples of Lung-men begun after the removal of the Wei capital to Loyang in 494. These images take on a truly Romanesque appearance in the way that their abstract linear style, hieratic frontality, and disembodied spirituality suggest some of the great sculptures of twelfth century Europe. This conception of the figure in geometric and linear terms has nothing to do with any Indian prototype. The image has an almost ideographic simplification, in that the only aspects of significance to the worshipper — the benign mask of the face and the blessing hand — are modeled in relief. The rest of the body is flattened out so that it appears as an immaterial rather than a substantially convincing shape. It may be that, with the removal of the capital and center of Buddhism

to the ancient center of Chinese culture at Loyang, a reassertion of the ancient Chinese feeling for design in calligraphic line and flat patterned surfaces was directed to the making of Buddhist images. At the same time this abstract mode in the creation of such awe-inspiring hieratic forms was peculiarly appropriate for expressing the Chinese attitude toward the imported divinities as strange magical spirits promising all kinds of boons and at the same time reminiscent of the always abstractly conceived deities of the native pantheon.

A new era of purely Indian influence in Chinese Buddhist art begins in the seventh century with the founding of the T'ang Dynasty. This was a moment when the subjugation of rebellions within and barbarians without the girdle of the Great Wall once more made China a great united empire. The military conquests of T'ai Tsung were followed by even more memorable triumphs in art. From the seventh to the ninth century China, in her material and spiritual splendor, was the greatest power on earth unrivaled even by the empires of Byzantium and Iran. In Buddhist art, the haunting abstract style of the sixth century is replaced by a closer imitation of Indian models as a direct result of the new diplomatic and religious contacts with the West.

This renewal of relations with India begins with the new unity of China under T'ai Tsung and the subjugation of the Turkish khans beyond the western limits of the Great Wall. The travels and studies of Hsüan-tsang, the independent pilgrim adventurer, initiated a new chapter in the history of Mahayana Buddhism in the Far East. An inventory of the sutras translated by the Master of the Law at Ch'ang-an reveals how the first real conception of the



FIG. 8. GILT BRONZE BUDDHA.
FOGG ART MUSEUM.

faith of the Great Vehicle was due entirely to his enterprise. The contribution of Hsüan-tsung is comparable to the discoveries and influence of the Renaissance humanists on the later development of classic learning in the West.

No less important were the official missions of the Imperial envoy, Wang Hsüan-ts'e, who, with a corps of artists and scribes, brought back not only religious texts but what must have been fairly accurate pictorial records of the holy places of India. Of great import for the problem of the transmission of Indian types to China are

the itemized lists of actual replicas of famous Indian statues collected by these visitors to the "Western Countries": for example, Hsüan-tsang had copied the famous sandalwood image of King Udayana and other famous icons. A unique wall painting from Tun-huang shows the transportation of such an Indian image in a boat across a body of water. A banner from the library at Tun-huang reproduces copies of many of the famous sacred statues venerated in the West in a purely linear technique which seeks, however, to capture the style of the originals. A gilt bronze Buddha in the Fogg Art Museum so completely follows a Gandharan original that it may have been one of these replicas of famous Indian statues (*Figure 8*).

It seems that a definite merit was attached to copies — even remote ones — of images at the sites that were associated with the great events of the Buddha's career. "Something of the Buddha" was believed to survive in these effigies related to him; indeed the whole effort of later Mahayana art in the Far East as in India was to imitate by time, place, and form the corporeal manifestation of the absolute truth. The virtues of these copies of famous statues from the holy land of Buddhism lay in the belief that they incorporated the omnipresence of the *Dharma-kaya*; something of the Buddha's transcendental personality remained attached to places where his human form had appeared as well as to icons commemorating these appearances, so that copies of these statues at famous sites were thought to derive supernatural power from their relation to originals thus animated by the Buddha himself.

It is not at all surprising in view of this new first-hand acquaintance with Indian models that many examples of T'ang sculpture are

clearly attempts to imitate the style of the Gupta period. The standing image lent by the Seattle Art Museum is a translation into Chinese terms of the Sarnath type with the characteristic robe, smooth and devoid of folds, and the essentially spheroidal conception of the head. Only the features such as the wedge-shaped nose and the archaic smile seem to be a perpetuation of the purely Chinese ideal developed in the Six Dynasties period. In the same way, a small bronze Buddha in the present exhibition is a reduction of a familiar Pala type.

In some T'ang sculpture like the famous statuary of T'ien Lung-shan (*Figure 10*) we sense the presence of the Gupta canon as an ultimate precedent but the reduction of the head and body to even more geometrically abstract shapes results in a loss of the feeling of warmth and breathing life inherent in the Indian prototype just as the rhythmic and in a sense naturalistic sweep of the drapery is more suggestive of the brush stroke than the carver's tool.

Reflections of Indian forms are paramount in the Buddhist painting of T'ang times as may be seen in the murals of Tun-huang and the lost wall paintings of Horyuji at Nara which were painted in the fashionable Indian style of the eighth century. The annals of T'ang painting are filled with references to artists who are credited with introducing the style of the "Western Countries." They are credited with representing forms with a wonderful illusion of relief, presumably by the use of the type of abstract shading found at Ajanta and in Central Asia. The name of Wei-ch'ih I-seng is sometimes attached to a painting of the Buddha in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in which the figure of Sakyamuni appears as a free and linear adapta-



FIG. 9. BUDDHA FROM T'IENTUNG-SHAN.
FOGG ART MUSEUM.

tion of a Gandhara type.

In many examples of T'ang sculpture in bronze and stone we note the beginning of a tendency to conceive the form in a pictorial fashion. This reveals itself in the intricacy of the carving, the depth of undercutting, and multiplication of accessories. These characteristics would be even more apparent if the images retained their original polychromy. In the painted wooden images of Sung and Yüan times the depth of carving and dependence on color make these statues appear like painted forms transferred to sculpture. Their immediate



FIG. 10. BUDDHA FROM T'IENTUNG-SHAN.
FOGG ART MUSEUM.

antecedents may be the painted clay statues found in great numbers in the Liao Dynasty temples located in Ta Tung-fu. At the same time the greater delicacy of execution, the sentimental prettiness of type, and the winsome expressions of both Buddha and Bodhisattva types make it possible to equate these icons with Baroque religious art in the West. These figures with their ingratiating smiles and languid, tender gestures offer the more immediate solace of a religion devoted more and more to

easy means of salvation by devotion and offerings to images of such personable representatives of a Buddha no longer remote or inaccessible.

One of the most famous Buddha images in Japan is the statue of Sakyamuni at Seiryōji in the outskirts of Kyoto (*Figure 11*). According to the *Nihongi Ryaku*, this was a copy of the famous sandalwood image of King Udayana made for the priest Chonen at K'ai Feng-fu and brought to Japan in 987. All such copies of this legendary statue of Buddha, itself regarded as a veritable material facsimile of Sakyamuni, were esteemed as only slightly less potent embodiments of the Buddha's earthly manifestation. The Seiryōji icon, whether it is the original Chinese statue or the tenth century Japanese replica, demonstrates the veritable immortality of the Gandhara style in the stylized representation of a classical robe in a mesh of closely pleated folds that had come to symbolize the "rippling" drapery of the miraculous Udayana icon.

Throughout the whole history of Chinese Buddhism certain traditional types continue to be repeated sometimes with little change. The bronze of the Ming period lent by the Detroit Institute of Arts is a perfect illustration of the persistence of the famous Udayana image in this archaistic reiteration of a drapery style of the Six Dynasties period. The same miracle-working prototype is represented in countless replicas made in Nepal and Tibet as late as the twentieth century.

The name of Chang Ssu-kung, a painter believed to have worked in the Northern Sung period, is attached by tradition to a number of Buddhist paintings found mostly in Japanese collections. A particularly fine example of the

style of this rare master is the Buddha Trinity lent by the Brooklyn Museum. The figures have a swaying grace and elegance enhanced by the softly flowing garments. The painting has an extraordinary refinement in execution and, like Sung sculptured images, the appeal of these forms is in their soft grace and decorative splendor. The use of gold leaf, the delicacy of draughtsmanship in hair-thin lines, and beauty of color in this and other works attributed to Chang Ssu-kung are so suggestive of Japanese Buddhist painting of the Fujiwara period that one wonders if this nebulous artist may have influenced the ideals of that most exquisite period of Japanese religious art.

The kind of delicate superficial refinement already exemplified in the paintings by Chang Ssu-kung was perpetuated well into the late Ming and Ch'ing periods. The example in the present collection reveals a desiccation and hardening of the drawing of its prototype, and at the same time the image is lost in a wealth of surface decoration. The fascinating and elaborate architecture of Sakyamuni's throne vies for attention with the shape of the Buddha himself. As in the declining phase of religious art in so many parts of Asia and the West, the virtuosity of the technical performance takes precedence over the no longer meaningful icon.

Since Ch'an or Zen Buddhism specifically denied the validity of ritual and attachment to icons, the Buddha image seldom appears in the art of this purified philosophical sect except in such occasional temple banners as the famous painting of Buddha by Liang K'ai, formerly in the collection of Count Sakai, in which the Master is shown, not in any usual iconographical form, but as a wild-eyed, ragged vagabond exemplifying the rugged austerity and unortho-

dox power of Zen ideals.

The traditional date for the introduction of Buddhism to Japan is the year 552, when the king of Kudara in Korea sent a gift of a Buddha image and sacred texts to the reigning emperor. The national religion of Japan at this moment was the cult of the Shinto *kami sama*, the gods of elements and natural forces, upon whose favor the very stability of the empire and individual well-being depended. It is not strange that the introduction of this foreign faith should have aroused suspicions as well as the fear of offending the native deities. The Emperor is reported to have spoken as follows: "The countenance of this Buddha which has been presented...is of severe dignity such as we have never seen before. Ought it to be worshipped or not? Shall Yamato alone refuse to worship it?"

"Those who have ruled the Empire in this our state have always made it their care to worship in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, the 180 gods of heaven and earth, and the gods of the land and of grains. If...we were to worship in their stead foreign deities, it may be feared that we should incur the wrath of our national gods."

It was not long before an outbreak of pestilence seemed indeed to indicate the displeasure of the sun goddess, and so these first tokens of Buddhist ritual were forthwith thrown into the sea at Naniwa. It was only in the beginning of the seventh century under the Empress Suiko and the enlightened Prince Shotoku that Buddhism with their fervent patronage was accepted in Japan. The founding of the earliest shrines at Gangoji and Horyuji in the Nara plain date from this period, as do the earliest Buddhist icons to be made in Japan. Among the earliest surviving religious images are the golden bronze trinities of Yakushi and Shaka by a certain Tori



FIG. 11. BUDDHA FROM SEIRYOJI.
JAPAN.

Busshi dedicated at Horyuji in 607 and 623 (*Figure 12*). The cult of Yakushi (Bhaishajyaguru), the Buddha of Healing, was one of the first to gain popularity in Japan because of the miraculous cures offered by this divine physician.

Tori Busshi was the grandson of a sculptor who had emigrated from the kingdom of Liang in South China in 522. The style of Tori's religious images marks the introduction to Japan of the forms and techniques of Chinese Buddhist sculpture of the Six Dynasties period. The central Shaka of the trinity dedicated in memory of Shotoku Taishi in 623 illustrates the slight modifications this style has undergone in its translation to Japan (*Figure 12*). The image is dominated by the two plastic elements of the block-like head and the great hand raised in blessing; the body itself, as in continental sculpture, appears almost dematerialized under the intricate surface linear rhythms of the drapery. The face itself is a darkly brooding mask, suggesting the mysterious and inscrutable properties attached to Buddhism by the Japanese of the seventh century. Perhaps the most Japanese features of this icon are the delicacy and precision of the craftsmanship and the abstract beauty of design in the flame halo and the flower-like convolutions of the pattern of the drapery falling over the dais. Although many icons of the Suiko period have the same rather fearsome and awe-inspiring countenances, the facial masks of a certain number of these early statues have a strangely child-like cast, filled with a radiant expression of innocence and candor. This typically Japanese quality is described by words like *heimei* or *meikaisei*, meaning literally "radiant flatness," or simplicity and and everything opposite to the dark and occult.

FIG. 12. SHAKA TRINITY, HORYUJI.
NARA, JAPAN.





FIG. 13. YAKUSHI, YAKUSHIJI.
NARA, JAPAN.

The terms may also be applied to the specifically flat, patternized conception of the images as a whole and the decorative manipulation of surface design. This is a quality which continues to appear as an immortal thread throughout the whole later fabric of Japanese art.

By the end of the seventh century the mannerisms of Six Dynasties art had been replaced by an assimilation of the T'ang style. Japanese Buddha images of the Hakuho and Tempyo periods represent the same refinement of continental models begun in the Suiko era. The great black bronze Trinity of Yakushiji is the metal counterpart of Chinese stone sculpture of the seventh and eighth centuries (*Figure 13*). The

central Buddha has the feeling of volume and weightiness of T'ang statues set off by the fluid naturalism in the disposition of the drapery folds.

The painted equivalents of such eighth century masterpieces were the Buddhas of the Four Paradises of Horyuji Kondo, the famous wall paintings destroyed by fire in 1949. The iconography of this cycle illustrates the complexity of Japanese Buddhism in the Hakuho period. The four Buddhas portrayed — Shaka, Amida, Miroku, and Yakushi — form a *mandala* or magic diagram of the four directions, each with its heaven presided over by a divine Buddha. It may be assumed that the basis of this icono-

graphical arrangement is not to be found in any one text but in a number of different sutras popular at the time. The style of single figures like the Amida has nothing Japanese about it: the form itself recalls the T'ang wall paintings at Tun-huang, and the shading of the robe in bands of dark pigment reinforcing the lines of drapery is a Chinese technique that may be seen in such famous T'ang originals as the Scroll of the Thirteen Emperors by Yen Li-pen. Some of the small figures of reborn souls in this composition are so strongly Indian in form and in use of a heavy chiaroscuro that they might have been inspired directly by Indian originals.

The Tempyo period was an age of secular and religious power and splendor rivaling the T'ang civilization of China. China continued to provide the models for every phase of Japanese art: the capital at Nara was laid out on the plan of the Chinese city of Ch'ang-an and the Daibutsu, the giant Buddha of Todaiji, was inspired by the colossus dedicated by the Empress Wu at Lung-men. In the eighth century Buddhism and Shinto were reconciled in the tenet that the universal Buddha Vairocana and the sun goddess Amaterasu were only different manifestations of the same cosmic splendor. The doctrine of the *Bommokyo*, in which the universal Buddha is the center of the world system with all phenomena, spiritual and material, emanating from him, provided a religious parallel for the political structure of Japan with the emperor at the summit of the social and religious system of the realm.

Many Japanese Buddha images such as the famous Roshana at Kanimanji are informed with a feeling of expansive volume, described by the Japanese term *ryo*, which approximates the suggestion of the presence of an inner breath or

pneumatic force of Indian images. It is well to note that even statues of such colossal size reveal something of the expression of gentleness and ingenuous sweetness that emerged as a Japanese trait in the very earliest period of Buddhist art. For the presentation of sheer plastic mass, the conception of sculpture as an exercise in inter-locking abstract volumes proclaiming the solidity and weightiness of the form, the masterpieces of Japanese carving of the eighth century were scarcely equaled by the sculptors of T'ang China. The Tempyo masterpieces have a classic nobility and serenity that was to be emulated in many later periods.

The dangers inherent in the ever-encroaching influence of the Nara priesthood on the administration of the empire, led to the removal of the court to Kyoto in 794 and the withdrawal of further government support of the Buddhist church. The whole program of Buddhism in Japan had perforce to be revised with the specific end of gaining the support of the nobility in the new capital. This aim was achieved through the appeal of the cults of esoteric Buddhism, Tendai and Shingon, which were introduced by the priests Saicho and Kobo Daishi in the early ninth century. In essence the esoteric sects provided a ready ritual for exorcism, healing, and worldly benefits. It was no wonder that the convenience and practicality of obtaining such boons simply by recourse to a priest should have appealed to the effete ruling hierarchy in Kyoto whose faith was partly a form of worldly amusement, partly superstitious trust in supernatural aid.

From the philosophical point of view, Shingon or The True Word was an esoteric doctrine (*Mikkyo*, "secret teaching") descended from the Indian Vajrayana system. In Shingon the cos-

FIG. 14. AMIDA, BYODO-IN.
UJI, JAPAN.



mos is identified with the Universal Buddha, Vairocana or Dainichi. The particular features of the universe in the form of multiple deities are all manifestations of the cosmic Buddha. All things in the material and spiritual worlds are emanations of Vairocana, a vast constellation revolving around the mystic center of the worlds. This occult system was pictorially presented in the form of the *mandalas* or magic diagrams of the material and spiritual worlds. As in Vajrayana, the recitation of magic spells and yogic meditation admitted the devotee to the secret heart of the *mandala* and identification with the cosmic lord. As Jung expressed it, "The secret instrument (of yoga) is therefore

only intended for him whose light of consciousness is capable of freeing him from the powers of life (and consciousness) in order to enter into the ultimate undivided unity, into the center, the heart of the psyche." It was no wonder that such a doctrine would impose an even more abstract and hieratic form upon the Buddha image, conceived now as a remote godhead and an emblem of terrible magic power, especially since these images were regarded as actual embodiments of this deity.

In all the esoteric sects mystic union with the Buddha was the eventual goal. These cults based on superstition and implicit faith demanded the employment of secret rituals and spells with priestly aid for all manner of cures and worldly benefits. Specific icons were required for different rituals and needs, and the reliance on magical rites for concrete benefits made the religion approximate the Brahmanism against which the mortal Buddha had rebelled.

The Buddha images of the Jogan period have a new and heavy solemnity and imposing weighty grandeur in keeping with the transcendental aspect of the Shingon deity. The tendency toward expansiveness and heaviness of form is so exaggerated in some Buddhas of the Jogan period that they appear imbued with an oppressive heaviness and bulk. It is as though the carvers wished to connote the supernatural power of the divine beings through the emphasis on their sheer massiveness of bodily form. In these images of the ninth century the drapery is often reduced to shallow surface grooves, as though the carver were unwilling to interrupt the sensation of volume and mass by a deeper carving. One formula, the so-called "rolling wave style" (*Hompa Shiki*) which occasionally appears provides for folds with a rounded pro-

file alternating with sharp ridges, a convention which goes back to the school of Gandhara. In some Jogan sculpture, like the famous torso of Toshodaiji, the drapery appears to be a copy of the more fluid manner of lacquer sculpture.

In the Fujiwara period the city of Kyoto became the center of a wonderful but narrow culture, the chivalric pageant of the *Tale of Genji*, in which the cultivation of aesthetic refinement in every detail of life was the preoccupation of emperor and nobility. The art of the Fujiwara period is the art of the capital. Following the cancellation of further official missions to China in 894, Japan entered a period of isolation. For this very reason the icons of Fujiwara times, created apart from continental influences, were more expressive of national ideals.

The Fujiwara period saw the creation of a new canon of Buddhist sculpture established by the famous image of Amida by the sculptor Jocho in the Byodoin at Uji (*Figure 14*). The inert heaviness of the Jogan style has disappeared in what is a conscious return to the ideal of the Tempyo period. Characteristic of Jocho's type are the benevolent face with downcast eyes, small nose and mouth, the slender arms with tiny feminine hands, and the robe designed in flowing parallel curves of drapery. There is in this formula a balance between massiveness and grace. Although the Jocho canon revived something of the classic form of the eighth century, the Fujiwara images give an impression of greater lightness and delicacy enhanced by the exquisite delicacy of their gestures and the feminine gentleness and beauty of the facial masks. This was a type which with little change continued to be repeated in later centuries in Japanese art.

It was the special cult of the Buddha Amida that more than anything else affected the development of the new aesthetic ideal in Buddhist art of the Fujiwara period. The worship of the Buddha of Light, Amitabha, the ruler of the Western Paradise, had long been known in Japan, but only in the tenth century did it develop into a special sect. This new faith in the saving grace of Amida was furthered even more by the generally held belief that two thousand years after the Buddha's death a terrible period of degeneration would set in. The devotion to Amida was popularized by the preaching of the holy man Eshin Sozu who held out the promise of rebirth in the Land of Bliss beyond the sunset. Even more attractive was the easy possibility of salvation by mere invocation of the name of Amida — "namu Amida butsu." Such a simple formula, without the hocus-pocus of esoteric sects, to gain an eternal reprieve from suffering had a mighty appeal for men of all classes in these troubled times. Many paintings are actually associated with Eshin as their creator, such as the famous triptych of Koyasan, which shows Eshin's vision of Amida and his hosts supported on wreaths of cloud drifting down from the sky over the hills of Kyoto (*Figure 15*). The picture is a faithful representation of the account of the descent of Amida in the *Amitayur sutra*: "When one who has practiced these merits is about to be born in that country, Buddha Amitayus, together with the two Bodhisattvas Avalokitesvara and Mahasthamaprapta, also numberless created Buddhas, and a hundred thousand *Bhiksus* and *Sravakas* with their whole retinue, and innumerable gods, together with the palaces of the seven jewels, will appear before him; Avalokitesvara and Mahasthamaprapta will offer a diamond seat to



FIG. 15. YAMAGOSHI AMIDA,
ZENRINJII, KYOTO, JAPAN.

him; thereupon Amitayus himself will send forth magnificent rays to shine over the dying person's body." In this as in countless other paintings derived from it, the central figure of Amida is executed in the technique of *kirigane*, "cut gold." Gold leaf is cut with a bamboo knife into a lacework pattern of geometric or floral designs, and then this weightless spider-web of gold is applied to the silk, sometimes over an underlayer of gold leaf, to symbolize in its metallic lustre the radiant golden glory of Amida. This refinement of technique is matched by that of the figures, drawn in lines of infinite thinness and characterized by a feeling of grace and elegance, an aristocratic aloofness and

delicacy that are the religious counterpart of the refinement of earthly society. The Fujiwara portrayals of Amida may be regarded as an expression in Japanese terms of the Buddha type introduced from T'ang China in such prototypes of the eighth century as the Amida of Horyuji Kondo.

It was inevitable that the soft civilization of the Fujiwara, in which the influence of the monarchy scarcely extended beyond the capital, should fall to one of the powerful military clans that for long had been disputing the real rule of the country. With the installation of a military dictatorship under Minamoto no Yoritomo, it was not surprising that an era of practicality and

materialism should replace the effete dream world of the Fujiwara. These qualities assert themselves particularly in the new realism and force and austerity in religious art. The orthodox types of Buddha images in both painting and sculpture are scarcely more than mechanical repetitions of the earlier formula.

The Kamakura paintings of Amida Raigo, "Amida coming (to save)," or the Yamagoshi Amida in which the Buddha looms like a great sun beyond the mountains (*Figure 15*), were created not only for the benefit of the living, but especially for those *in extremis*. Such paintings, sometimes in the form of screens, were brought to the death-bed to facilitate the dying man's translation to Paradise.

In the Buddhist paintings of the Kamakura period, as though to emphasize the urgency of their celestial mission of salvation, the velocity of the descent of Amida and his heavenly host in the Raigo compositions assumes a veritable rocket-like speed. The Buddha and his various attendants are portrayed as tender and gentle, intimate and infinitely solicitous. The very haste of the divine beings to succor their devotees and their radiant benevolent character seem to reflect the increased and implicit reliance on Amida for the promise of rebirth to a better world. In these days of strife and uncertainty there was no longer, as in the golden dream of the Fujiwara, with its reliance on esoteric magic, any thought of bringing paradise to earth, but only the hope of escaping to the Land of Bliss through the intervention of Amida. In many Kamakura paintings of the Amidist sects, *kirigane* or cut gold leaf almost entirely replaces pigment, and the forms of Buddha Amida and his train shine like luminous, disembodied appearances. Their fragile

grace and delicate linear definition reminds the beholder of the radiant, unearthly shapes created by the fourteenth century painters of Italy. In Kamakura sculpture certain types of Buddha images created by sculptors like Kaikei and Kokei combined the new realism with an archaistic return to the style of Jogan and the Fujiwara periods.

In the later centuries orthodox Buddhism was challenged by the more dynamic appeal of Zen and the doctrines of Nichiren, and its pictorial imagery enters a long period of decline. The exquisite delicacy of the *kirigane* technique is replaced by gold paint, so that figures take on a metallic rather than a luminous quality. As in every spent tradition, a hardness and dryness characterize the process of atrophy in works of the Ashikaga period and later.

It is hardly fitting to end our account of the evolution of the Buddha image on a note of decay and attrition in Buddhism and its art. Even today, in the regions of the religion's strength, icons continue to be produced and in accordance with traditional canons that ensure their power and beauty. Finally, it should be said that the purpose of the present exhibition and its description in the pages of this catalogue has not been simply to display the obvious borrowing and endless repetition of the type of Buddha image originally developed in India, but rather to show how the canon for these superb evocations of invisible presences, these paradigms of beauty in the religious image, were adopted by every Asian land where Buddhism prevailed as a point of departure for the creation of icons appropriate for the religious needs and reflecting the aesthetic ideals of many peoples for nearly two thousand years. The history of the evolution of the Buddha image in its mani-

fold translations into national artistic idioms over Asia parallels the ever-renewed reworking of the canons of the Graeco-Roman world and the forms of Christian art and its iconography

through all the centuries of our Western culture.

Benjamin Rowland, Jr.
Harvard University

SOUTH ASIA

1. HEAD OF BUDDHA
INDIA, GANDHARA
2ND CENTURY A.D.





2. STANDING BUDDHA
INDIA, GANDHARA
2ND CENTURY A.D.

3. SEATED BUDDHA
INDIA, GANDHARA
3RD OR 4TH CENTURY A.D.





4. SEATED BUDDHA
INDIA, GANDHARA
3RD OR 4TH CENTURY A.D.

5. STANDING BUDDHA
INDIA, GANDHARA, KUSHAN
3RD—4TH CENTURY A.D.



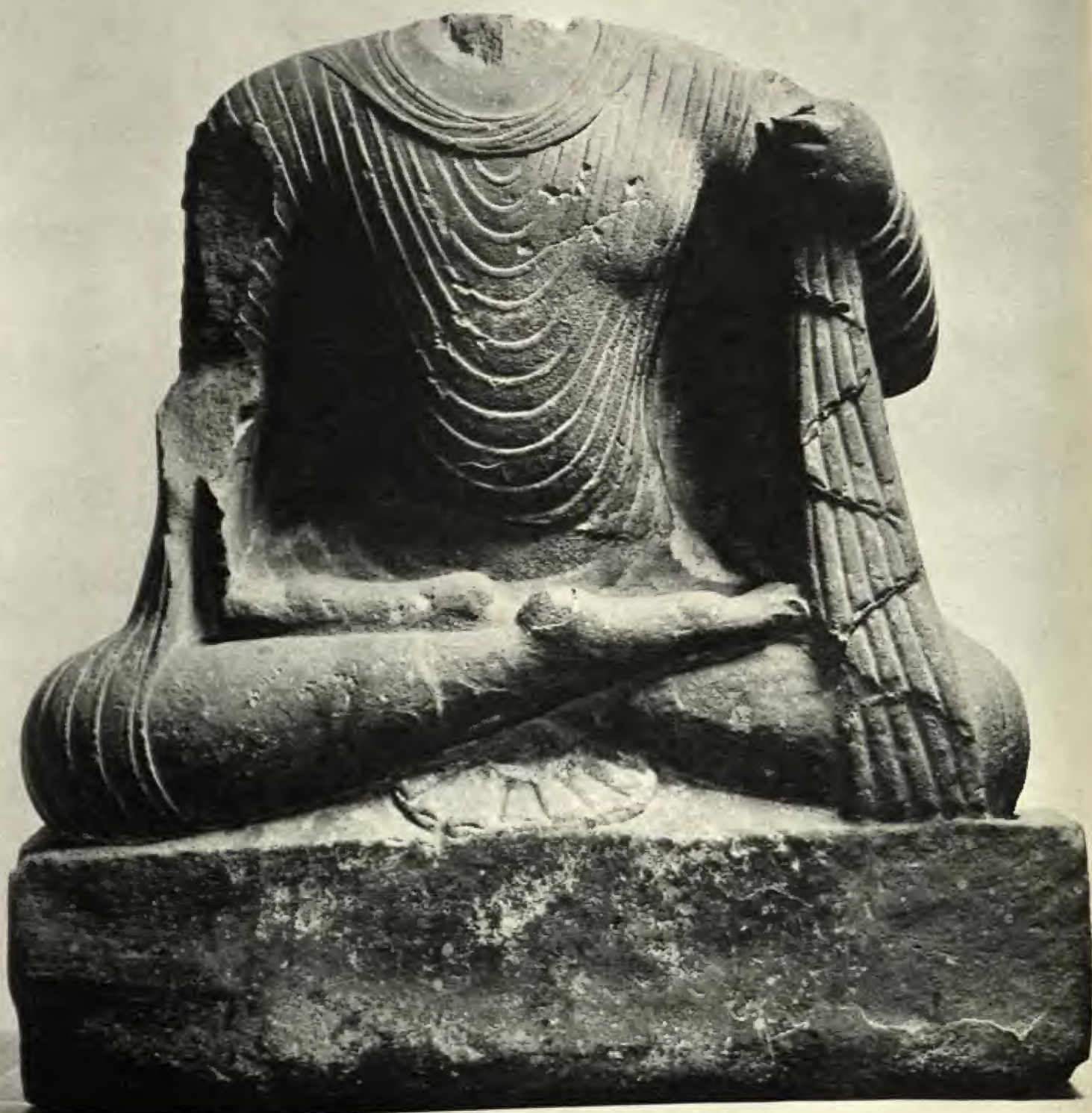
6. BUDDHA FRAGMENT
INDIA, KUSHAN PERIOD
2ND CENTURY A.D.





7. HEAD OF BUDDHA
INDIA, KUSHAN PERIOD
2ND CENTURY A.D.

8. SEATED BUDDHA
INDIA, KUSHAN PERIOD
3RD OR 4TH CENTURY A.D.







9. TORSO OF A BUDDHA
INDIA, GUPTA PERIOD
5TH CENTURY A.D.

10. HEAD OF A BUDDHA
INDIA, GUPTA PERIOD
5TH CENTURY A.D.



11. TORSO OF BUDDHA STATUE
INDIA, GUPTA PERIOD
5TH CENTURY A.D.

12. HEAD OF BUDDHA
INDIA, GUPTA PERIOD
5TH CENTURY A.D.





13. SEATED BUDDHA
INDIA, GUPTA PERIOD
5TH CENTURY A.D.



14. STANDING BUDDHA
INDIA, GUPTA PERIOD
5TH CENTURY A.D.



15. HEAD OF BUDDHA
KASHMIR
7TH CENTURY A.D.

16. SEATED BUDDHA
KASHMIR
9TH—10TH CENTURY A.D.





सर्वभूतहिताय कथयिष्ये ॥
यानि शरणं कृतं सोमं दत्तं नृपः ॥

17. STELE OF BUDDHA
INDIA, PALA PERIOD
9TH—10TH CENTURY A.D.

18. STANDING BUDDHA
INDIA, PALA PERIOD
10TH CENTURY A.D.



19. CROWNED BUDDHA
INDIA, PALA PERIOD
10TH CENTURY A.D.





20. SEATED BUDDHA
INDIA, PALA PERIOD
7TH—8TH CENTURY A.D.



21. SEATED BUDDHA
INDIA, PALA PERIOD
7TH—8TH CENTURY A.D.



22. CROWNED BUDDHA
BENGAL, INDIA, PALA PERIOD
10TH CENTURY A.D.

23. SEATED BUDDHA
NEPAL
16TH CENTURY A.D.







24. PANCARAKSHA MANDALA
TIBET
18TH CENTURY A.D.

25. PAGE FROM A PALM LEAF SUTRA
NEPAL
11TH—12TH CENTURY A.D.



SOUTHEAST ASIA

26. BUDDHA AND THE EIGHT BODHISATTVAS
NEPAL
14TH CENTURY A.D.

27. BUDDHA
THAILAND, DVARAVATI PERIOD
7TH CENTURY A.D.





28. STANDING BUDDHA
THAILAND, MON-DVARAVATI PERIOD
7TH CENTURY A.D.

29. HEAD OF BUDDHA
KHMER
13TH CENTURY A.D.







30. SEATED BUDDHA
THAILAND, SUKHODAYA STYLE
14TH CENTURY A.D.

31. STANDING BUDDHA
THAILAND
13TH CENTURY A.D.





32. HEAD OF BUDDHA
THAILAND
16TH CENTURY A.D.

33. STANDING BUDDHA
THAILAND, AYUDHYA STYLE
16TH CENTURY A.D.

34. BUDDHA
JAVA
8TH—9TH CENTURY A.D.





35. HEAD OF BUDDHA
INDONESIA
CA. 800 A.D.

CHINA



36. STANDING BUDDHA
CHINA, SIX DYNASTIES PERIOD
DATED 444 A.D.





37. SEATED BUDDHA
CHINA
DATED 338 A.D.

38. BUDDHA WITH TWO ATTENDANTS
CHINA
5TH CENTURY A.D.



39. STANDING MAITREYA BUDDHA
CHINA, SIX DYNASTIES PERIOD
DATED 477 OR 486 A.D.





40. BUDDHA MAITREYA
CHINA, SIX DYNASTIES
PERIOD
DATED 538 A.D.

41. SEATED MAITREYA BUDDHA
CHINA, SIX DYNASTIES
PERIOD

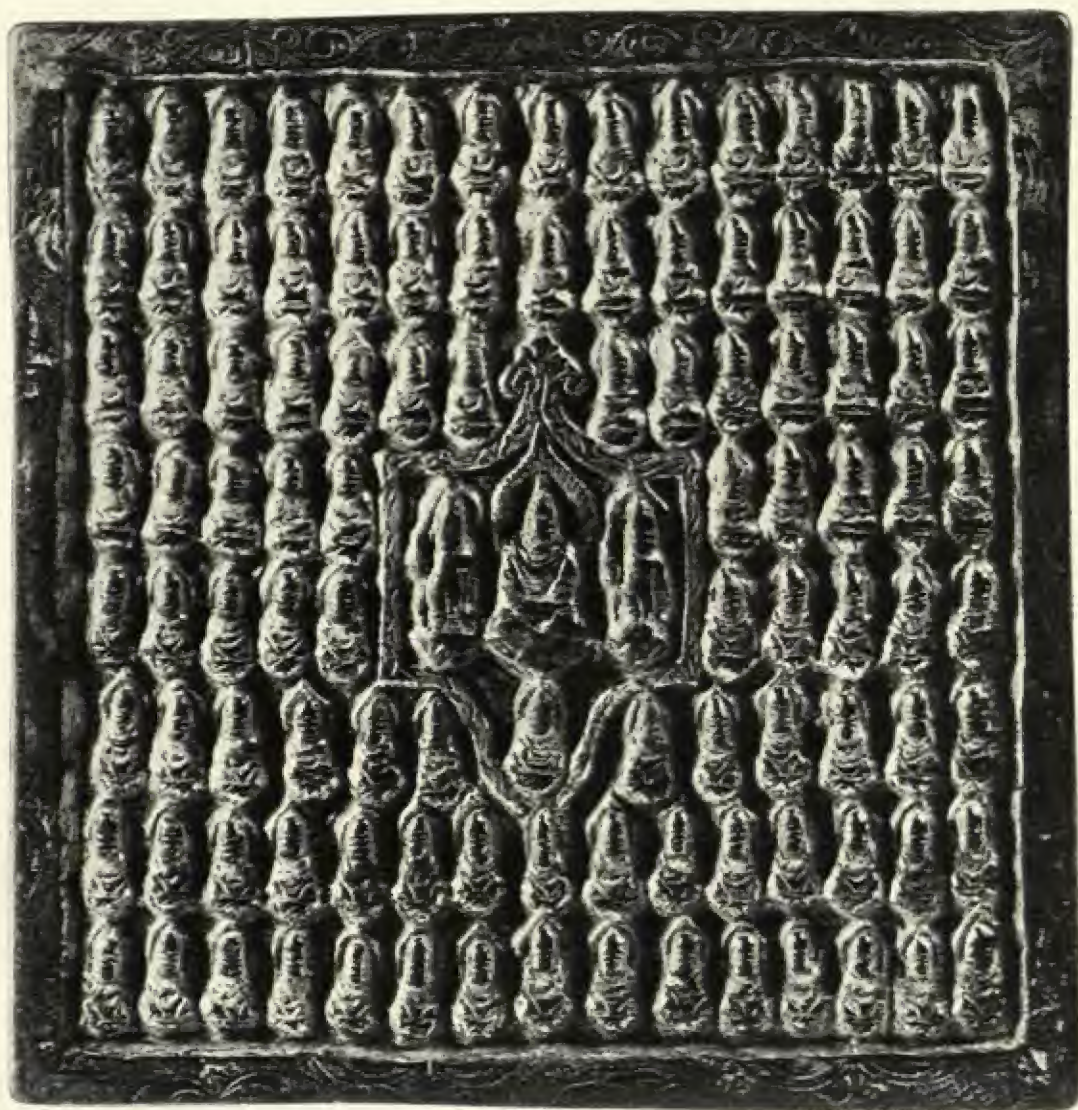


42. STELE WITH BUDDHA MAITREYA
CHINA, SIX DYNASTIES PERIOD





43. SEATED BUDDHA
CHINA, T'ANG PERIOD

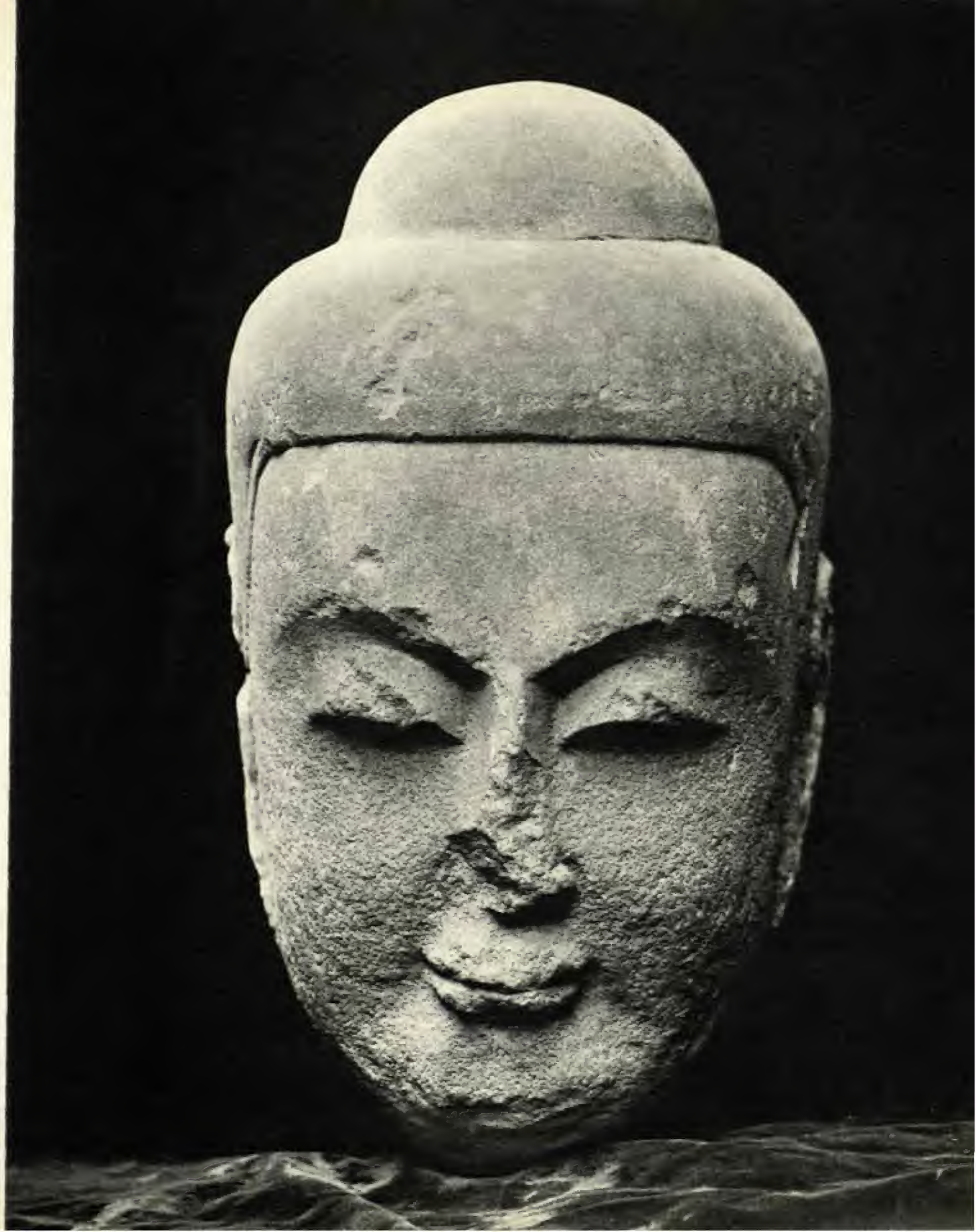


44. MANDALA
CHINA, T'ANG PERIOD



45. STANDING BUDDHA
CHINA
6TH CENTURY A.D.

46. HEAD OF BUDDHA
CHINA, T'ANG PERIOD





47. THE GOLDEN IMAGE OF CH'ANG KAN-SSU
CHINA, TUN-HUANG, CAVE 140
T'ANG PERIOD

48. STANDING BUDDHA
CHINA
DATED 1107 A.D.





49. STANDING BUDDHA
CHINA, MING PERIOD

50. STANDING BUDDHA
CHINA, CH'ING PERIOD





51. SEATED BUDDHA
CHINA, MING OR CH'ING PERIOD

JAPAN and KOREA

52. MAITREYA IN MEDITATION
JAPAN, SUIKO PERIOD
7TH CENTURY A.D.





53. BUDDHA AMIDA
COPY FROM WALL PAINTING
FROM HORYU-JI
JAPAN



54. SHAKA TRINITY
JAPAN, SUIKO PERIOD
DATED "IN THE YEAR
OF BO-SHI" 628 A.D.





55. HEAD OF BUDDHA
JAPAN, TEMPYO PERIOD

56. BUDDHA SEATED ON A LOTUS
JAPAN, TEMPYO PERIOD

57. TORSO OF STANDING BUDDHA
JAPAN, JOGAN PERIOD
9TH CENTURY A.D.





58. SEATED BUDDHA
JAPAN, EARLY FUJIWARA PERIOD

59. STANDING BUDDHA
JAPAN, JOGAN PERIOD
9TH CENTURY A.D.





60. ICHIJI KONRIN (DAINICHI)
JAPAN, LATE FUJIWARA OR EARLY
KAMAKURA PERIOD

佛說見心經

亦名生死變識經

神護寺

聞如是一時佛在羅閱國祇園精舍以食
時將諸比丘五百人菩薩及優婆塞千人皆
持供養具出羅閱祇城外有大樹名曰甘香
根深幹大枝葉茂盛華實紅赤其味甜美樹
下廣平集石為坐佛意欲心此諸優婆塞
即敷布坐席佛便心生弟子菩薩亦時就坐時
有一比丘名曰見正新入法服其心有疑獨念
言佛說有後世生至於人死皆无惡相報告者







62. JODO MANDARA
JAPAN, KAMAKURA PERIOD

63. SEATED BUDDHA
JAPAN, FUJIWARA PERIOD



64. STANDING BUDDHA
ATTRIBUTED TO KAIKEI
JAPAN, KAMAKURA PERIOD

65. AMIDA GOSON
JAPAN, KAMAKURA PERIOD

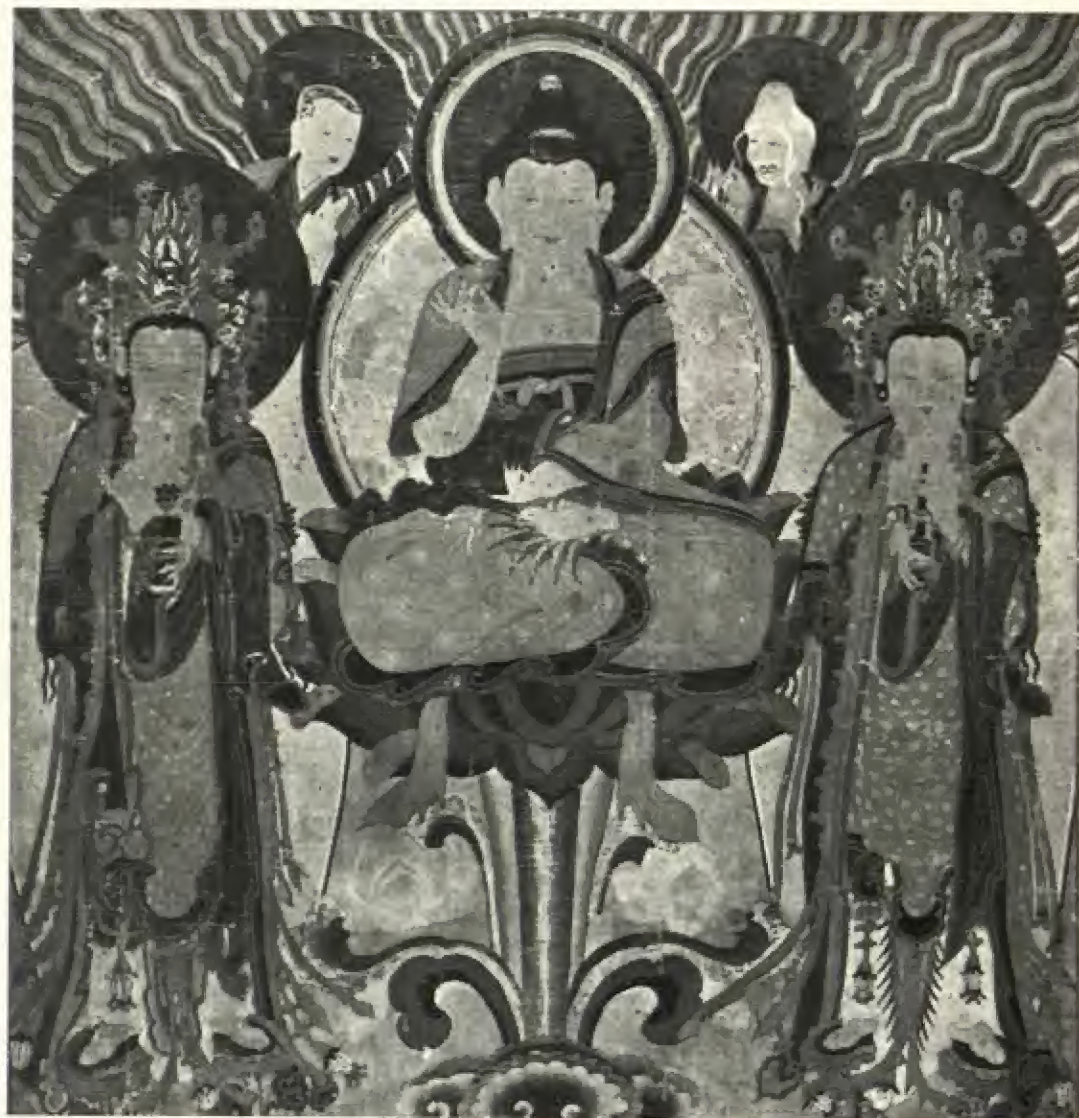




66. BUDDHA
KOREA, SILLA PERIOD
668—935 A.D.



67. SEATED BUDDHA
JAPAN, ASHIKAGA PERIOD



68. AMITABHA TRINITY
KOREA, YI PERIOD
18TH CENTURY A.D.

DESCRIPTIVE NOTES

1. HEAD OF BUDDHA
India. Gandhara
2nd century
Schist
Height: 6"
Mr. & Mrs. Benjamin Rowland,
Jr.

This head is typical of the very earliest Gandhara style, in which the type of features and technique are still strongly reminiscent of classical precedents. The soft, effeminate features and the wavy hair serving to disguise the ush-nisha appear derived from a Graeco-Roman Apollo type. Iconographical features such as the elongated ear-lobes and the urna or mark between the brows are, of course, Indian elements combined with Western technique.

2. STANDING BUDDHA
India. Gandhara
2nd century
Schist
Height: 40"
Anonymous loan

The head with its soft, effeminate features is derived from a Graeco-Roman type, possibly the Apollo Belvedere. The robe is a schematized version of the garments of Roman Imperial portrait statues of the Augustan and Claudian periods. The strongly classical character of this and other early Gandhara Buddhas appears to indicate that they were carved by workers trained in the pagan workshops of the Roman Near East, possibly in Syria or Egypt. The Western technique has been superimposed on an Indian iconography.

3. SEATED BUDDHA
India. Gandhara
3rd-4th century
Slate
Height: 28½"
Yale University Art Gallery
Anonymous gift

This image illustrates the "indianization" of the originally classical type of Gandhara Buddha. The heaviness of the body and the fullness of the face are more Indian, and the voluminous toga of the early Buddha type has been conventionalized into a linear formula in which the folds are represented by quilted ridges applied to the surface of the body. This is a formula that provided a model for countless imitations of Gandhara types in Central Asia and the Far East. The statue bears an inscription in Kharosthi with the name "Eni," probably that of the donor of the image. The Buddha is represented in the mudra of meditation or dhyani, a gesture indicating that this is Sakya-muni at the time of the Great Enlightenment.

4. SEATED BUDDHA
India. Gandhara
From Sari Dheri, Pakistan
3rd-4th century
Slate
Height: 4½"
Mr. & Mrs. Benjamin Rowland,
Jr.

Sari Dheri is a site near Peshawar that has yielded objects from the Indus Valley period to Kushan times. This small fragment illustrates one of the many conventionalizations of the classical robe of early Gandhara Buddhas to a simple linear incision. The Buddha, probably part of a long slab from a monastery facade, is shown in the abhaya mudra, the gesture of blessing or reassurance.

5. STANDING BUDDHA

India. Gandhara

3rd-4th century

Bronze

Height: 11½"

The Metropolitan Museum of
ArtEdith Perry Chapman Fund,
1948

This object is one of a small number of Gandhara metal statues that reflect the style of the more familiar stone images. It is likely that it was through the export of such small versions of the Gandhara type of Buddha that the form and iconography found their way to Central Asia and the Far East.

6. BUDDHA

India. Kushan Period

From Mathura

2nd century

Red sandstone

Height: 13½"

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

This fragment of a statue is a smaller variant of such famous Kushan Buddhas as that dedicated by Friar Bala in the Archaeological Museum at Sarnath or the seated Buddha from Katra in the Muttra Museum. This is a completely Indian type with the body and face represented in expansive, rounded masses indicated by simple, gently swelling planes, an Indian technique that, in all classic sculpture, connotes the fullness and warmth of flesh in an abstract mode. The drapery, indicated by incisions and ridges, stems from the technique of the archaic Indian schools. As in all Indian Buddhas there is scrupulous indication of the lakshana or magic marks.

7. HEAD OF BUDDHA

India. Kushan Period

2nd century

Red sandstone

Height: 9¼"

Mr. & Mrs. Nasli Heeramanek

This head is an example of the earliest Indian type of Buddha. The sharply defined planes, the rather inorganic, additive application of the head continue the technique of the earlier Indian schools of sculpture. There is an evident attempt to render the face of the Enlightened One warm and benevolent by the wide-open eyes, the smiling mouth, and the radiant well-being connoted by the very fullness of the facial mask.

8. SEATED BUDDHA

India. Kushan Period

From Mathura

3rd-4th century

Red sandstone

Height: 24"

The Cleveland Museum of Art:
Edward L. Wittemore Fund

This Buddha has the massive heavy proportions of the Kushan canon. The treatment of the drapery in a system of parallel quilted ridges anticipates the formula of the Gupta images of the fourth and fifth centuries, as does the svelte tapering of the torso and the sharp precision of the carving.

9. **TORSO OF A BUDDHA**

India. Gupta Period
 From Mathura
 5th century
 Red sandstone
 Height: 45½"
 Nelson Gallery (Nelson Fund)
 Kansas City

The Buddhas carved during the Gupta period are a combination of the massive, typically Indian type of body of the Kushan images and the originally classical drapery of Gandhara. The folds, as in the late Gandhara examples are simplified to string-like ridges falling in parallel loops down the central axis of the form. The rippling movement of this net of folds serves to relieve the static columnar rigidity of the body.

10. **HEAD OF A BUDDHA**

India. Gupta Period
 From Mathura
 5th century
 Red sandstone
 Height: 12¾"
 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

This is the type of head that would have been attached to the torso from Kansas City. The face has the spherical fullness of the Kushan Buddha, carved with infinite sophistication and feeling for the beauty of the simple interlocking planes that comprise the mask. The eyes, following the universal metaphorical convention, are shaped like lotus petals; the brows have the subtle springing curve of the neem plant or the bow. The snail-shell curls describe the Buddha's hair after he had cut off his princely locks at the Great Renunciation. The greatly elongated earlobes in this and other Buddha heads are to be explained by the fact that, as a Prince of the Sakya clan, Siddhartha like every Indian nobleman wore enormously heavy earrings which artificially stretched the lobes.

11. **TORSO OF BUDDHA
STATUE**

India. Gupta Period
 From Sarnath
 5th century
 Chunar sandstone
 Height: 30"
 The Cleveland Museum of Art:
 Purchase from the J. H.
 Wade Fund

This is a fragment of one of the great masterpieces of Gupta sculpture that illustrates the final realization of the Indian ideal of the Buddha image. The robe has been reduced to a smooth transparent garment completely revealing the form beneath. It is a wonderful illustration of the Indian sculptor's conception of the body as an abstract shape composed of unencumbered planes that in their gentle interlocking connote both the swelling fullness of the form and the warmth of flesh. Its simplicity and crystalline perfection make it a perfect symbol of the immaculate purity of the body of the Tathagata.

12. HEAD OF BUDDHA

India. Gupta Period

From Sarnath

5th century

Chunar sandstone

Height: 10½"

Mr. & Mrs. Nasli Heeramaneck

This beautiful fragment is from one of the Buddha images made at the site of the First Preaching in the mid-fifth century. The type represents the ultimate refinement of precedents of the Gandhara and Kushan schools. It is the final Indian ideal for the Buddha face. Under the brows curved like a bow, the lotus-petal eyes are engraved in low relief. The full, flower-like lips repeat their gentle curves. All of these features are completely integrated within the mass of the head and the perfect ovoid of its contour. As in all masterpieces of the Gupta period, there is an almost geometric perfection of form in the uninterrupted smoothness of the facial planes and, at the same time, by its description in quiet, circular shapes, the face radiates a feeling of infinite serenity and purity.

13. SEATED BUDDHA

India. Gupta Period

5th century

Bronze

Height: 7"

Dr. & Mrs. Samuel Eilenberg

The Buddha is represented seated on a raised dais, his right hand in the mudra of charity. This beautiful statuette has all the monumentality of the great examples of Gupta sculpture in stone.

14. STANDING BUDDHA

India. Gupta Period

From Dhanesar Khera, Banda district, Uttar Pradesh

5th century

Bronze

Height: 14½"

Nelson Gallery (Nelson Fund)

This metal image is a repetition in small scale of the style of the fourth and fifth century stone images of Sarnath. It retains at the same time something of the soft naturalistic treatment of drapery seen in early Gandhara sculpture. Countless small statues of this type were made in Gupta times and, later, at Nalanda under the Palas. Their export led to the spread of Indian styles throughout the whole Indian world.

15. HEAD OF BUDDHA

Kashmir

From Ushkur

7th century

Terra-cotta

Height: 9½"

George Bickford, Cleveland, Ohio

Kashmir remained as an isolated outpost of Indian Buddhism and its art endured long after the eclipse of the Kushan and Gupta empires. In style, the head with its free, somewhat naturalistic modeling suggests the technique of the stucco sculptures of Gandhara. This is combined with something of the ideal abstraction of form associated with the Gupta style of Mathura and Sarnath.

16. SEATED BUDDHA
Kashmir
9th-10th century
Gilt bronze
Height: 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ "
Mr. & Mrs. Nasli Heeramanek

This image is another illustration of the enduring influence of the Gupta ideal, long after the style and the religion it served in India had vanished. The relationship of this statuette to metal Buddhas of Nepal and Tibet is explained not only by their common derivation from the art of the Bengal Valley, but also by the exchanges artistic, religious, and diplomatic, which are known to have taken place between Kashmir and the Country of the Snows.

17. STELE OF BUDDHA
India, Pala Period
9th-10th century
Black chlorite stone
Height: 25"
Nelson Gallery (Nelson Fund),
Kansas City

This image is typical of countless examples of statues carved during this last period of Buddhism in India. The style is essentially a repetition of the ideal types of the Gupta period, here reduced to a somewhat mechanical, dry execution. The Buddha is shown in the bhumisparsa, or earth-touching, mudra. This is a reference to an episode of the Great Enlightenment when, assaulted by the Demon Mara, Sakyamuni called upon the Earth Goddess to support his right to take his seat beneath the Bodhi Tree at the pole of the universe. In Mahayana Buddhism, this pose is taken over for portrayals of Akshobhya, the Dhyani Buddha of the East, and it may well be that this statue is a representation of this mystic divine Buddha.

18. STANDING BUDDHA
India, Pala period
10th century
Black chlorite stone
Height: 44"
Frank Caro

The stele shows the Buddha with his body bent in a gentle curve as in the images of the Gupta period. The pose was certainly devised originally to impart a feeling of movement, almost a suggestion of the Buddha's moving toward the devotee. The style, as usual in the Pala sculpture of Bengal, reflects the Gupta canon in a dry precise technique. The best of the Pala icons, like the present one, still retain something of the wonderful feeling for immaculate surface and volume that typified the style of Sarnath in the fifth century.

19. CROWNED BUDDHA
India, Pala Period
10th century
Black chlorite stone
Height: 16 $\frac{1}{4}$ "
Mr. & Mrs. Nasli Heeramanek

Such crowned and bejewelled images are generally regarded as representations of the Buddha transfigured in Sambhogakaya with royal attributes symbolizing the divine radiance and splendor of the Body of Bliss. This type with the hands in the gesture of Turning the Wheel of the Law (Dharmacakra mudra) is repeated in Nepal, Tibet, and the Far East for representations of the supreme Buddha Vairocana.

20. SEATED BUDDHA
India. Pala Period
From Kurkihar (Bihar)
7th-8th century
Gilt bronze
Height: 3 1/16"
Mr. & Mrs. Nasli Heeramanek

Even more than the stone sculptures of the Pala period, the small bronze images from sites like Kurkihar and Sirpur repeat the idealism and refinement of the Gupta style. They tend to be more hieratic and formalized, but the examples in the present collection display a much greater beauty of technique and form than the better-known bronzes made at Nalanda in the Pala era.

21. SEATED BUDDHA
India. Pala Period
From Sirpur
7th-8th century
Gilt bronze
Height: 7 1/4"
Mr. & Mrs. Nasli Heeramanek

This image represents the Buddha seated in European fashion and may, for this reason, be a portrayal of Maitreya. The type of head and the body enclosed in the smooth mantle perpetuate on a small scale the beautiful canon of the Gupta style of Sarnath.

22. CROWNED BUDDHA
Bengal, India. Pala Period
10th century
Gilt bronze
Height: 9 11/16"
Mr. & Mrs. Nasli Heeramanek

This metal image is a miniature counterpart of the iconographical type frequently encountered in the stone sculpture of the period. The present image in the Bhumi-sparsa or earth-touching mudra may be a representation of the Buddha Akshobhya. Statuettes of this type are the ancestors of the Dhyani Buddhas in Nepal and Tibet.

23. SEATED BUDDHA
Nepal
16th century
Gilt bronze
Height: 9 1/4"
Mr. & Mrs. Nasli Heeramanek

The strict adherence to canonical rules for icons in Nepal and Tibet made for a changeless repetition of earlier types. This rigid traditionalism in the making of icons is to be explained by the fact that a special sanctity was attached to Buddha images made in India. Statues venerated at famous sites were somehow thought to partake of the essence of the Buddha who once manifested himself there, so that something of this virtue and miraculous property would be transferred to a strict repetition of the sacred originals.

24. PANCARAKSHA MANDALA
Tibet
18th century
Color and gold on linen

This painting is of a type described in Tibet as a gser t'an or "golden tanka" characterized by the gold figures against a red ground. In this beautiful decorative mode the figures emerge like iridescent golden flowers against the ruby background. The central figure is Sakyamuni attended by the Bodhisattvas

- 35½" by 26½"
Fogg Art Museum (Wetzel
Bequest)
25. PAGE FROM A PALM-
LEAF SUTRA
Nepal
11th-12th century
22½" by 2½"
Mr. & Mrs. Nasli Heeramanek
26. BUDDHA RATNASAM-
BHAVA (Rin-chen abyunidan
and the Eight Bodhisattvas
Nepal
14th century
Color on linen
Mr. & Mrs. Nasli Heeramanek
(Cover illustration)
- 26a. SEATED BUDDHA
Central Asia, from Tumschuq
4th-5th century
Clay
Musée Guimet, Paris
(Not illustrated)
27. BUDDHA
Thailand. Dvaravati Period
From Chiang Mai

Avalokitesvara and Maitreya. Below, to the left and right, are Kuvera the god of wealth and the Hindu deity of wisdom Ganesha, and, at the very bottom, Mahakala, "the great Black One," one of the eight terrible protecting divinities of the Vajrayana pantheon. As always in Tibetan art, the forms are based on pre-existing paradigms, so that the close resemblance to earliest examples of Nepalese painting in the collection are not at all surprising.

The miniature illustrations accompanying the invocations of various deities in these manuscripts are faithful copies of the style of the Pala period in India. The figures have been reduced to a flat decorative form of the same beauty of color that characterizes the earliest examples of Nepalese painting.

Ratnasambhava is the Dhyani Buddha of the South, and this tanka may have formed part of a set including all five of the mystic Buddhas of the directions. His distinctive color is yellow, and he is shown in the varada mudra or gesture of charity. The costume with crown and jewels follows the iconography of implications of hidden erotic charm in the enigmatic expressions, the svelte elegance of the bodies, and the sinuous moving line, a quality entirely compatible with the magic sexual character of Vajrayana Buddhism. In this very early example of painting in Nepal the brilliant colors and the monumental figures seem like a distant echo of the classic Indian style of Ajanta.

This fragment from the monasteries of Tumschuq in Turkestan was recovered by an expedition led by Paul Pelliot early in the present century. The sculpture of Tumschuq represents an eastward extension of the styles of clay and stucco sculpture found at Hadda and Fondukistan in Afghanistan. The treatment of the drapery illustrates a further formalization of what was once the classic robe of the Gandhara statues and provides the direct prototype for the earliest Buddhist sculpture of China.

This beautiful image of the Dvaravati or Pre-Khmer period is clearly derived from the Gupta Buddhas of the Sarnath School. The breadth of shoulders and the svelte tapered proportion of the body have been exaggerated into a mov-

7th century
Black stone
Height: 51½"
Nelson Gallery (Nelson Fund)

ing canon of beauty. Touches of realism, as in the swelling fold of flesh at the waist and the indication of the knee caps, animate the abstract conception. Particularly beautiful and typical of early Thai Buddhas is the decorative repetition of the lines of the individual features in echoing curves.

28. **STANDING BUDDHA**
Thailand. Dvaravati Period
7th century
Bronze
Height: 8½"
The Cleveland Museum of Art;
Norman O. Stone and Ella
A. Stone Memorial Fund

This statuette is a small counterpart of the standing stone Buddha from Chieng Mai. Its derivation from a model of the Gupta period at Sarnath is evident in the disposition of the body in an S-curve and in the characteristic sheath-like robe. Local traits of this imported Indian style are the enlarged curls, open eyes, and full lips, parts of a head which, as usual, is somewhat out of scale with the proportion of the body.

29. **HEAD OF BUDDHA**
Khmer
13th century
Limestone
Height: 8½"
Fogg Art Museum

The heads of Buddha images of the last century of the classic period of Cambodian art preserve the solid cubic mass of earlier types. The features, instead of being applied to the surface and reinforced with engraved outlines, are now absorbed in the plastic mass of the head. This technique results in a greater softness of modelling which served to accentuate the introspective dreamy expression implied by the familiar formula of the closed eyes and smiling lips. The suggestion of personality is to be explained by the fact that in Cambodia images of divinities were ideal portraits of the king in the guise of the presiding deity of the realm.

30. **SEATED BUDDHA**
Thailand. Sukhodaya style
14th century
Bronze, with patina and traces
of gilding
Height: 24½"
Breezewood Foundation,
Monkton, Md.

The robe is worn in the "open" mode, one end being folded back and forming a shoulder flap. The posture of the image is known to the Siamese as Maravi-jaya. The noble, decorative style of the image has many reminiscences of the classic Khmer manner.

31. **STANDING BUDDHA**
Thailand. From Lopburi
13th century

The Buddha is represented with both hands in the gesture of reassurance (Abhaya mudra) and wearing a crown. This latter emblem designated the conception of the Buddha as transfigured in Sambhogakaya and alludes to

Bronze
Height: 6½"
Usher P. Coolidge

the Cambodian and Siamese cult of deva raja. The style is that of the last classic monuments of the period of the Bayon at Angkor.

32. HEAD OF BUDDHA
Thailand
16th century
Bronze
Height: 10½"
Fogg Art Museum

The Buddha heads in Thailand of this period continue the formula of the classic period of Khmer sculpture in Cambodia. The separation of the hair from the face by a broad band is a device of Khmer heads of the Angkor period, and at the same time the Thai feeling for the decorative persists in the petal-shaped eyes that repeat the formula for the earliest images of the Dvaravati period.

33. STANDING BUDDHA
Thailand. Ayudhya style
16th century
Bronze, covered with lacquer
intended as an adhesive to
secure the gold leaf
Height: 28½"
Breezewood Foundation,
Monkton, Maryland

In addition to the monastic robe, which is in the "covering" mode, the Buddha wears the ornaments of royalty. The abhayamudra of Indian iconography is known to the Siamese as Ham Nati, "preventing kinsmen from quarreling over the water rights of the Rohini." The image is doubtless a copy of some great cult statue, which wore a gold crown and had real ornaments superimposed on the monastic dress, possibly the Sarbejna, the Palladium of Ayudhya. Badly damaged during the Burmese wars of the late eighteenth century, the Sarbejna found its way to Bangkok early in the nineteenth century and was sealed up inside a cetiya tower. It is known that it was a standing image, but further description is lacking.

- 33a. STANDING BUDDHA
Thailand. Bangkok style
19th century
Wood, lacquered and gilded
Height: 103 cm.
Breezewood Foundation,
Monkton, Md.

The supernatural anatomy is rather insisted on here and the ushnisha, the distended earlobes, and the gold-colored skin are almost universal in Siamese Buddha images. The even fingers and toes and the projecting heels are usual, but the urna is much less common. The monastic dress, represented as red cloth embroidered with gilt flowers, is worn in the "open" mode, and though it is stylized, it is coherently and comprehensively rendered. Certain elements of the waist cloth, which is really under the robe, are visible because the radiance of the Buddha's body makes the robe transparent. The visible elements include the upper part of the waist cloth, turned down over an invisible cloth belt, and a panel of pleated cloth falling down vertically between the legs.

34. **BUDDHA**
 Indonesia. From Java
 8th-9th century
 Bronze
 Height: 7½"
 Professor Samuel Eilenberg
35. **HEAD OF BUDDHA**
 Indonesia. From Borobudur
 ca. 800
 Grey volcanic stone
 Height: 15¼"
 Seattle Art Museum; gift of
 Mrs. John C. Atwood, Jr.
36. **STANDING BUDDHA**
 China. Six Dynasties Period
 Dated 444
 Bronze
 Height: 11¼"
 Museo Nazionale dell' Arte
 Orientale, Rome
37. **SEATED BUDDHA**
 China
 Dated 338
 Gilt bronze
 Height: 13¼"
 M. H. De Young Memorial
 Museum, San Francisco,
 Avery Brundage Collection

This small statue, like all such metal images, was made by a peculiarly refined use of the cire-perdue process. The fact that the Buddha is in vitarka mudra, the gesture of instruction, makes it likely that this is a representation of Vairocana, probably intended for private veneration in a monastic establishment. The style of this beautiful statuette with its softly modelled smooth planes and radiant spiritual expressiveness is in reality a miniature replica of the great statues of Borobudur.

This head of one of the Dhyani Buddhas from the greatest monument of Indonesian Buddhism represents an ultimate refinement of the Gupta formula. The moving simplicity of the planes of the mask make this a symbol of the crystalline perfection of the mystic Buddha.

This statuette is one of the earliest known examples of dated Buddhist sculpture in China. The style of drapery is a linear conventionalization of the Gandhara formula. The figure with the large head and pudgy features appears to be an imitation of some Central Asian proto-type, rather than an actual Indian model. It anticipates the even more formalized presentations of features and drapery in the Buddha images of Yün Kang and the large bronze Maitreya of 477 lent by the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The aureole bordered with flame patterns is frequently encountered in Chinese Buddha images of the first half of the fifth century.

If authentic, the inscription on the reverse of this image would make it the earliest known example of Buddhist sculpture in China. The rather crude style is an imitation of Central Asian Buddhist sculpture, in which the Gandhara type has already been reduced to ideographic simplicity. The rigid inorganic portrayal of body and face seems like a perpetuation of the purely Chinese abstract manner of symbolizing human figures in Han times.

38. **BUDDHA WITH TWO ATTENDANTS**
China
5th century
Sandstone
Height: 25½"
Mr. & Mrs. Nasli Heeramaneck

The central figure of Buddha illustrates the imitation of debased Gandhara models from Central Asia that prevailed in Chinese Buddhist art during the early period of its development. The extremely archaic technique of carving, as well as the type and drapery of the Buddha figure, correspond to the style of the fifth century sculptures of Yün Kang.

39. **STANDING MAITREYA BUDDHA**
China. Six Dynasties Period
Dated 477 or 486
Gilt bronze
Height: 55½"
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Kennedy Fund 1926

This is one of the earliest and most important dated Buddhist bronzes in the Western world. According to the date, it was made at the time of the first great period of Buddhist sculpture at Yün Kang. The drapery is rendered in the same convention of ribbon-like bands breaking into forked folds that was used for some of the stone colossi at the cave temples in Shansi. The rather block-like treatment of the head with its wedge-shaped nose and archaic smile seem to indicate the emergence of the more abstract style of Chinese Buddhist sculpture.

40. **BUDDHA MAITREYA**
China. Six Dynasties Period
Dated 538
Gilt bronze
Height: 24"
University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia

This beautiful bronze image illustrates the change in style that had taken place in the sixth century. Instead of the completely Central Asian manner represented by the bronze statue of 477, the present example is conceived in a completely Chinese mode. The body is presented as a flat profile emphasized by the serrated swallow-tail shape of the flaring robe, in which linear surface pattern prevails over any plastic mass. The abstract cubic formula for the head with its archaic smile and almond eyes is typical of this very Chinese phase of Buddhist sculpture.

41. **SEATED MAITREYA BUDDHA**
China. Six Dynasties Period
From Lung-men
6th century
Black limestone
Height: 10½"
Mr. & Mrs. Benjamin Rowland, Jr.

This representation of the Buddha of the Future is typical of the type of Buddhist sculpture evolved in the early sixth century at the site of the famous cave temples at Lung-men. The Buddhist Messiah is dressed in a costume usually reserved for Bodhisattvas or Buddhist archangels with long scarves or stoles crossed over the torso. The hieratic and flat manner of representing the body in linear terms, the geometric simplification of the form are typical of this most Chinese phase of Buddhist sculpture, often compared to Romanesque sculpture by reason of its awe-inspiring severity and abstraction.

42. **STELE WITH BUDDHA
MAITREYA**
China. Northern Wei Period
Dated 500
Limestone
Height: 37½"
The Cleveland Museum of Art;
Mr. & Mrs. Severance A.
Milikan Collection

This is an icon that perfectly illustrates the fully developed Chinese style of Buddhist sculpture in the sixth century. Some suggestion of the massiveness of an Indian or Central Asian original remains, but the formalized hieratic conception of the body mainly in repeated linear rhythms is completely Chinese, as is the treatment of the face with its archaic smile and geometrically simplified features.

43. **SEATED BUDDHA**
China. T'ang Period
7th-8th century
Gilt bronze
Height: 4"
Mr. & Mrs. Benjamin Rowland,
Jr.

This image in its softness and roundness of form illustrates the penetration of Gupta ideals to China in the seventh and eighth centuries. The fluid pictorial treatment of the drapery is typical of the Chinese transformation of the Indian formula.

44. **MANDALA**
China. T'ang Period
8th-9th century
Gilt bronze
5½" by 5½"
Mathias Komor

In the center of the plaque is a trinity of Buddha and two Bodhisattvas surrounded by a galaxy of smaller Buddha figures. This is a simpler form of the vastly complicated diagrams of esoteric Buddhism. The origin of this multiplication of Buddhas around the central Tathagata is in the Great Miracle Sraavasti, when Sakyamuni caused myriad replicas of himself to fill the sky. Even in such tiny scale it is possible to see that the figures have the originally Indian fullness of form favored in T'ang religious art.

45. **STANDING BUDDHA**
China
Late 6th or early 7th century
Limestone
Height: 50½"
Seattle Art Museum; Eugene
Fuller Memorial Collection

This singularly beautiful image, which belongs either to the transitional Sui period or the early T'ang, is a perfect illustration of the translation of Indian Gupta ideals into Chinese terms. The representation of the body as a smooth volume encased in a sheath-like robe is a familiar device of the Sarnath school, here reduced to an even greater simplification of the shapes that have the perfection of geometric solids. The round, benign mask of the face, departing from the angular formula of the Six Dynasties period, is ultimately Indian, too, but the features retain something of the archaic conventions of the earliest Buddhist sculpture in China.

46. **HEAD OF BUDDHA**
 China. T'ang Period. From the
 "Elephant Chapel," Ching
 Chow, Kansu Province
 Late 6th or early 7th century
 Limestone
 Height: 12"
 Fogg Art Museum

This head is one of a number recovered from this remote site by Langdon Warner during his expedition to Tun-huang in 1924. The style of the head in such features as the cap-like hair and the archaic smile repeats the formula of the Yün Kang caves of the fifth century, but the conception of the form as a more rounded plastic mass betokens the infiltration of Indian Gupta influence that was to transform Chinese sculpture of the T'ang period.

47. **THE GOLDEN IMAGE OF
 CH'ANG KAN-SSU**
 China. T'ang Period
 Wall painting from Cave 140,
 Tun-huang
 8th century
 20" by 37"
 Fogg Art Museum

The painting illustrates the legend of a golden image of Buddha made by the fourth daughter of Asoka and miraculously transported to China. The story continues that in the Chin era (326-334) the image was recovered from the bay by a certain Kao Li and carried by boat to the temple of Ch'ang Kan-ssu. This is one of many such legends dealing with Indian images finding their way to China, which must be eventually based on the actual importation of icons from the Western countries. It is perhaps not entirely an accident that the statue represented in the painting bears some resemblance to a Gandhara original.

48. **STANDING BUDDHA**
 China. Northern Sung Period
 Dated 1107
 Ivory
 Height: 16½"
 Ralph M. Chait

This statuette is a perfect illustration of the elaborate pictorial style that characterizes Buddhist sculpture of the Sung period and later. Typical, too, of this last sentimental phase of Buddhism is the grace and feminine refinement of features and nose. The exquisite precision and depth of carving that manipulate the medium into a counterfeit of painterly effects are perhaps more appropriate to ivory than large-scale sculpture. The rich grain and patina perfectly complement the elegant beauty of this baroque style, in which the religious image is only a pretext for a virtuoso performance.

49. **STANDING BUDDHA**
 China. Ming Period
 16th-17th century
 Gilt bronze
 Height: 45½"
 The Detroit Institute of Arts

This statue is a typical illustration of the archaistic revivals of earlier styles in China in later periods. Ultimately the style with rippling drapery folds goes back to Gandhara. Its conventionalization into applied ribbons breaking into forked folds repeats the style of Chinese Buddha images of the late fifth century at Yün Kang. The figure is probably to be identified as one of the innumerable later copies of the famous sandalwood image of King Udayana.

50. STANDING BUDDHA

China. Ch'ing Period
18th or 19th century
Gilt bronze
Height: 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ "
Fogg Art Museum

Statuettes of this type were made in large numbers in Tibet and in the Lamaist establishments in China as late as the nineteenth century. Like the larger bronze lent by the Detroit Institute of Arts, this is another example of the Udayana type, here reduced to an even more rigid conventionalization.

50a. CHANG SSU-KUNG. BUDDHA TRINITY

China. Northern Sung Period
12th century
Colors on silk
Height: 51 $\frac{3}{16}$ "
Brooklyn Museum

Chang Ssu-kung is a nebulous figure whose name has been preserved only in Japanese records and is represented almost entirely by paintings preserved in Japan. His style represents a reduction of the powerful T'ang manner to a formula of extreme delicacy and decorative beauty of color and line. The composition of the present painting with the Buddha and his smaller attendants arranged on a diagonal repeats the arrangement of the trinities of emperors and acolytes in the famous scroll of The Thirteen Emperors by Yen Li-pen in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

51. SEATED BUDDHA

China. Ming or Ch'ing Period
17th-18th century
Color on paper
49" by 28 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
Mr. & Mrs. Benjamin Rowland, Jr.

In this last phase of Buddhist art in China, the actual figure of the Buddha is almost lost in the intricate virtuosity of painting the drapery patterns and the intricate architecture of the throne. The Buddha figure itself is a rather dry and decorative repetition of a type going back to T'ang times.

52. MAITREYA IN MEDITATION (HANKA-SHIYUI-ZO)

Japan. Suiko Period
7th century
Gilt bronze
Height: 18"
The Cleveland Museum of Art;
John L. Severance Fund

This beautiful image is an illustration of the archaic style of Japanese Buddhist sculpture inaugurated by Tori Busshi. Like all the statues of the seventh century it is a more refined version of the abstract style of the Six Dynasties China, more Japanese in its lightness, the dreamy innocence of the facial expression and the exquisite refinement of its craftsmanship.

53. **BUDDHA AMIDA: COPY
OF A WALL PAINTING
FROM KONDO, HORYU-
JI, NARA**

Japan
69" by 45½"
Fogg Art Museum

This replica of one of the famous eighth century wall paintings, destroyed by fire in 1949, gives an idea of the scale and approximate appearance of the original. Various attributions have been offered for the Horyuji murals, including one to a Korean artist named Doncho, but it seems most likely that they were the work of a highly competent group of artists imported from T'ang China. This copy of the central image clearly shows the combination of wire-like line and abstract shading that characterized surviving examples of T'ang painting. The image presents a perfect example of the translation of the serene and massively impressive Indian ideal into Far Eastern terms.

54. **SHAKA TRINITY**
Japan. Suiko Period
Dated "in the year of Bo-shi,"
628

Gilt bronze
Horyuji Museum, Nara

This Trinity, of which one Bodhisattva is missing, repeats the iconography of the famous group by Tori Busshi in the Horyuji Kondo; Shaka attended by the two Bodhisattvas of healing, Yakuo and Yakujo. This extremely important object is in the style of the Tori workshop, an importation to Japan of the Chinese Six Dynasties manner. The mask of the central Buddha is somewhat less mysterious and awe-inspiring than the face of the great Shaka Trinity by Tori. It reveals something of the more ingenuous, bland, and sweet expression described by the Japanese term, heimeï. Like some Chinese Six Dynasties Buddhas, the central figure is attenuated from the waist up to give the icon a feeling of rising grandeur and majesty. The beautiful abstract drapery forms and the designs of the halo are a Japanese refinement of the Chinese style of the sixth century.

55. **HEAD OF BUDDHA**
Japan. Tempyo Period
8th century
From Daianji Temple
Wood, perhaps originally
lacquered
Nathan V. Hammer

Even in its ruinous condition this head possesses the classic serenity of expression and feeling for sculptural mass that characterized the great masterpieces of Tempyo sculptures. Haunting suggestions remain of the carver's feeling for his medium and sensitivity for the modelling of the surface in softly interlocking planes.

56. **BUDDHA SEATED ON
A LOTUS**
Japan. Tempyo Period
8th century
Bronze
Height:
Nathan V. Hammer

It appears likely that this is a representation of the Buddha Amida and originally formed part of a small plastic representation of the Paradise of the West, like the famous shrine of Lady Tachibana at Horyuji, Nara. Even in its small scale the figure displays the imposing, classic dignity of Tempyo sculpture.

57. **TORSO OF STANDING
BUDDHA**

Japan. Jogan Period
9th century
Wood
Height: 73½"
Toshodaiji, Nara

This beautiful and imposing fragment of sculpture illustrates the final development of the Tempyo style in the Jogan period. The form has taken on an even greater fullness and suggestion of expensive volume than the images of the eighth century. The suggestion of swelling roundness is enhanced not only by the massive proportions of the limbs and trunk, but also by the repeated curves of the lines of drapery over the abdomen and thighs. The disappearance of all the chief anthropomorphic features, head, hands, and feet, make it possible for us to concentrate on the intrinsic sculptural form of this abstractly beautiful ruin. As Langdon Warner once observed, "One can the more easily grasp certain naked essentials of woodcarving" and a "beauty independent of humanity." This torso is an illustration of how in Jogan times sculptors sought to impress upon the worshipper the mystery and power residing in the deity by an overwhelming suggestion of power implied in its titanic form and weightiness. The drapery, with the alternately rounded and pointed profiles of the folds, is a perfect illustration of the so-called "rolling-wave" style. The carving of the softly flowing folds of the outer mantle may perhaps be recognized to imitate the more fluid technique of lacquer sculpture in wood.

59. **STANDING BUDDHA**

Japan. Jogan Period
9th century
Wood
Height: 28½"
Nathan V. Hammer

This image is an example of the tremendous feeling for expansive volume and weighty solidity of form that typified Japanese religious sculpture of the Jogan period. This was a style, originally derived from T'ang models, in which the very massiveness of the form was intended to suggest the mysterious power to the Shingon deities.

58. **SEATED BUDDHA (DAI-
NICHI?)**

Japan. Early Fujiwara Period
10th-11th century
Wood
Hosomi Collection, Osaka

The image with the hands shaping the mudra of instruction is probably a representation of the Japanese form of the Universal Buddha Vairocana. Originally this image was part of the plastic mandala or cosmic diagram including all five of the Dhyani Buddhas. The style of the image, with its slighter, more graceful proportions and the more exquisite refinement of the face and hands, illustrates the departure from the massive canon of Jogan times to the ideal of the Fujiwara period.

60. **ICHIJI KONRIN (DAINICHI)**
 Japan. Late Fujiwara or Early
 Kamakura Period
 Late 12th or early 13th century
 Colors on silk
 55½" by 32½"
 Howard Hollis

This is a representation of Dainichi, "the Great Illuminator," in his supreme manifestation in the Diamond or Kongokai Mandara. The gesture of the hands with the five fingers of the right hand grasping the index finger of the left is the mudra of the Six Elements, the five material elements of which man is composed and the spiritual essence or mind of the cosmic Buddha. The joining of the hands thus signifies the union of the material and spiritual worlds of the two mandalas. In Shingon Buddhism the attitudes and gestures of the painted or sculptured images were to be assumed by devotees as a means of achieving mystic identification with the object of worship. The style with its softly graduated colors and sensitive line drawing would seem to place this painting in the thirteenth century.

61. **SUTRA**
 Japan. Fujiwara Period
 From Jingoji, Kyoto
 11th-12th century
 Gold on paper
 Overall length: 93"
 Mathias Komor

This frontispiece representing Buddha's paradise is typical of a large number of the religious texts formerly at Jingoji. The technique of painting in gold on a dark purple ground is a method often employed in the mandalas and mystic diagrams of Shingon Buddhism. The execution has all the delicacy and refinement typical of Fujiwara draftsmanship.

62. **JODO MANDARA**
 Japan. Kamakura Period
 From Jakujo-in, Koyasan
 13th century
 Colors on silk
 4'9" by 4'1"
 Nakamura Collection

The composition with Amitabha (Amida) seated in the midst of the palaces and jewel trees of the Western Paradise probably originated in Central Asia. It may be found both in the wall paintings of Tun-huang and in early Nepalese painting. According to Japanese tradition all later versions of this subject stem from a mandala woven for Taima-ji in the Tempyo period. The extreme refinement of color and drawing still reflect the style of the Fujiwara period.

63. **SEATED BUDDHA**
 Japan. Fujiwara Period
 11th-12th century
 Gilt bronze
 Height: 7½"
 Mr. & Mrs. Benjamin Rowland,
 Jr.

This object is to be described as a kake-butsu or "hanging Buddha," one of a large number of such small figures in relief attached to the halo of a larger statue to symbolize one of the myriad bunshin or emanations of the Universal Buddha, Vairocana or Dainichi. The soft idealized face with its small features, the full form, and flowing draperies illustrate the revival of the earlier classic styles of Japanese sculpture in Fujiwara times, combined with a new delicacy of technique and rather sweet, gentle expression.

64. **STANDING BUDDHA AT-
TRIBUTED TO KAIKEI**

Japan. Kamakura Period

13th century

Wood, lacquered and gilded

Height: 32½"

Nathan V. Hammer

Kaikei is one of a number of sculptors active in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Although a contemporary of the famous Unkei, his sculpture lacks the boldness and depth of carving typical of that master. Kaikei's sculpture, like the present example, is more slight and delicate with a shallow decorative technique of carving. His images have the same air of sentimentalized serenity that distinguishes Kamakura painting.

65. **AMIDA GOSON (Amitabha
with Bodhisattvas Avalokite-
svara and Mahasthamaprapta
and the Arhats Ananda and
Kasyapa)**

Japan. Kamakura Period

13th century

Gold and color on silk

Height: 35½" Width: 15"

Mr. & Mrs. Benjamin Rowland,
Jr.

The presence of the chief disciples of Sakyamuni is perhaps to be explained by the fact that, in many sutras devoted to Amida and his paradise, it is the mortal Buddha who explains these mysteries. Typical of Kamakura painting is the lavish use of applied gold leaf or kirigane to suggest the luminous splendor of these deities of light. The delicacy and gentle tenderness of the types continue the ideal of Fujiwara art.

66. **BUDDHA**
Korea, Silla period
(A. D. 668-935)

Gilt bronze

Height: 19"

Nathan Hammer

This image illustrates a period of Korean art when the impact of T'ang influence had displaced an earlier reliance on models of the Six Dynasties period. Typical of this and many other Silla bronzes is the squat canon of proportions with the head in a ratio of five to the total height of the statue. The massiveness of the form and the reduction of the drapery to a pattern of flowing curves restricted to the surface of the body forecasts the style of Japanese sculpture of the Jogan period.

67. **SEATED BUDDHA**
Japan. Ashikaga Period

16th century

Lacquered wood, gilt

Height: 25"

Fogg Art Museum

Korean religious paintings of the later centuries display certain continually repeated mannerisms and archaistic borrowings used for decorative purposes. The present painting repeats the iconography of the Kamakura Amida Goson, No. 65. The colors are invariably applied in flat areas and the palette limited to white, orange, green, and blue. The attendant Bodhisattvas with the serrated outline of their robes repeat the style of the Six Dynasties period. The composition is essentially decorative with a fondness for sharp, spikey forms, as in the lotus petals and the claw-like fingers.



68. AMITABHA TRINITY WITH
ANANDA AND KASYAPA
Korea. Yi Period. 18th century
Colors on silk
3'4" by 3'4½"
Mr. & Mrs. Benjamin Rowland,
Jr.

This image with the hands folded in the gesture of meditation is probably a representative of Buddha Amida, a separate cult image or part of a plastic mandala containing the Five Dhyani Buddhas. The style is a late, somewhat dry perpetuation of the classic canon inaugurated with Jocho's famous statue of Amida in the Byodo-in at Uji. As in painted representations of Amida, the gold leaf is intended to symbolize the effulgent splendor of the Buddha of the West.

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